

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

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LIBRARIAN

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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS

WE are glad to be able to report that interest in the scheme, which has for its object the reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain, and which was inaugurated in December, 1914, by the Governors of the John Rylands Library, has shown no signs of abatement during the past year, notwithstanding the increasing number of other projects which daily clamour for public support.

THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
SCHEME.

As evidence of this sustained interest it needs only to be stated, that since the publication, in August last, of the sixth list of contributions to the new library, we have actually received further gifts, amounting in the aggregate to nearly two thousand volumes, whilst many other definite promises of help have still to materialize.

Unfortunately, the demands upon our space in the present issue render it necessary for us to hold over the detailed lists of the works comprised in these gifts until next quarter ; but, in the meantime, we have much pleasure in recording the names of the donors, with the number of volumes contributed respectively by each.

As we have already pointed out in previous reports on the progress of the scheme, the generous response which our appeals have evoked has resulted in a collection of works which constitutes an excellent beginning of the new library. Yet, when it is remembered that the collection of books so wantonly destroyed by the Germans numbered upwards of a quarter of a million of volumes, it is evident that if the work of replacement is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

It is, therefore, with the utmost confidence that we renew and emphasize our appeal for further offers of help, which may take the form, either of suitable books or of contributions of money, to assist

us in this endeavour to restore the library resources of the crippled and exiled University.

In the light of recent events we are encouraged to believe that the time approaches when Belgium's wounds will heal, when her country will be evacuated by the enemy, and morally and materially greater than ever before she will pursue in peace her high destiny, strong in the memories of an heroic past, and in the affectionate esteem of all who love liberty and admire valour. It is for that reason we solicit a prompt and generous response to this appeal, so that when the time arrives for the return of the exiled scholars to the scene of happy as well as of painful memories—a day which may be nearer than most of us suppose—we shall be in a position to provide them with a live up-to-date library, adequate in every respect to meet their requirements, and ready to be placed upon the shelves prepared for its reception for immediate use.

In this way we shall be doing for the great little nation of Belgium that which she is at present powerless to do for herself. It is a present help she needs, and it is whilst she is still in exile that we want to demonstrate our determination to secure her restoration, and thus give to her noble Sovereign and his people tangible proof of the high regard in which we hold them, for their incomparable bravery, and for the heroic sacrifices which they have made in their honourable determination to remain true to their pledges of neutrality by refusing to listen to Germany's infamous proposals.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, those who may wish to participate in this scheme are requested to be good enough, in the first instance, to send to the writer, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, the titles of the works they are willing to contribute. He will be glad also to advise would-be donors as to the titles of suitable works.

ABERDEEN University. Per P. J. Anderson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.

Second contribution of 377 vols.

F. Harrington ARDLEY, Esq., of Teddington. 5 vols.

Mrs. BEARD, late of Knutsford. 48 vols.

The Right Hon. Earl BEAUCHAMP, K.G. 5 vols. (Additional.)

The Rev. H. P. BETTS, M.A., of Petersfield. 24 vols.

The Committee of the BOLTON Public Library. Per Archibald Sparke, Esq., Librarian. 10 vols.

RECENT
GIFTS TO
LOUVAIN.

- The BRITISH School at Rome. Per A. H. Smith, Esq., M.A., of the British Museum. 8 vols.
- Miss E. L. BROADBENT, of Manchester. 7 vols.
- Miss F. N. BRUCE, of Bethnal Green. 6 vols.
- The Right Rev. Dom CABROL, The Abbey of St. Michael, Farnborough. 105 vols.
- Senora Aurelia Castello de GONZALEZ, of Habana, Cuba. 2 vols.
- Robert H. CLAYTON, Esq., of Didsbury. 3 vols.
- A. W. COATES, Esq., of Carlisle. 60 vols.
- The Rev. Arthur DIXON, M.A., of Denton. 5 vols. (Additional.)
- The Right Rev. the Abbot of DOWNSIDE Abbey, near Bath. 21 vols.
- Mr. and Mrs. FIGAROLA-CANEDA, Biblioteca Nacional, Habana, Cuba. 45 vols.
- Andrew HALKETT, Esq., of Ottawa, Canada. 1 vol.
- Bernard HALL, Esq., of Manchester. 162 vols.
- Sir William HARTLEY, of Southport. Per Professor A. S. Peake, D.D. 231 vols.
- Mrs. Winstanley HASKINS, of London. 1 vol.
- Messrs. HEFFER & Sons, of Cambridge. 2 vols.
- The Rev. A. Du Boulay HILL, of East Bridgford. 35 vols.
- Mrs. Charles HUGHES, of Manchester. 1 vol.
- The Misses HUMPHRY, of London. 5 vols.
- Dr. Jamieson B. HURRY, M.A., of Reading. 13 vols.
- Mrs. JAMESON, of Bowdon. In memory of the late John W. Jameson, Esq. 16 vols.
- T. JESSON, Esq., of Cambridge. 5 vols.
- The Governors of the JOHN RYLANDS Library. (Additional.)
In memory of their colleague, the late Professor James Hope Moulton, D.D., Litt.D., etc. 89 vols.
- Miss KEMP, of Regent's Park, London. 135 vols.
- Howard C. LEVIS, Esq., of London. 1 vol. (Additional.)
- The University Press of LIVERPOOL. Per D. Millett, Esq. 1 vol. (Additional.)
- Miss LONSDALE, of London. 1 vol.
- W. R. MACDONALD, Esq., of Edinburgh. 3 vols.
- J. G. MILNE, Esq., of Farnham. 26 vols.
- The Daughters of the late Rev. T. O'MAHONY, D.D., of Drumcondra. 20 vols.

- C. T. OWEN, Esq., of Hampstead. 6 vols.
 Julius J. PRICE, Esq., of Toronto, Canada. 1 vol.
 The Rev. H. E. SALTER, of Abingdon. 45 vols.
 Mrs. SANDERSON, of Belturbet, Ireland. 1 vol.
 John SCOTT, Esq., of London. 12 vols.
 J. Day THOMPSON, Esq., of Cambridge. 10 vols.
 TORQUAY Natural History Society. 196 vols.
 T. Fisher UNWIN, Esq., of London. 3 vols. (Additional.)
 The Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, WASHINGTON, U.S.A.
 1 vol.
 Mrs. Isaac WATTS, of Altrincham. 3 vols.

We take this opportunity of congratulating Sir Adolphus W. Ward, the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, upon the attainment (on 2 December) of his eightieth birthday. Sir Adolphus was for many years closely and actively identified with the development of the educational life of Manchester. For twenty-two years (commencing as long ago as 1866) he filled the Chair of History and English Poetry in the Owens College, and subsequently, for a period of seven years (1890-97), he occupied the Principalship of the College. From 1886 to 1890, and again from 1894 to 1896 he was Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University, a period which was distinguished by the growing prestige and influence of the University. In 1900, when Sir Adolphus migrated to Cambridge to take up the Mastership of Peterhouse, the Corporation of Manchester conferred upon him the honorary freedom of the City. He has filled the presidential chair of the British Academy, the Royal Historical, the Chetham and several other societies, and we are proud to number him amongst the Trustees of the John Rylands Library, in which capacity he has rendered valuable service to the institution.

The vacancy on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, caused by the lamented death of Professor James Hope Moulton, has been filled by the appointment of the Rev. C. L. Bedale, M.A., Lecturer in Assyriology in the University of Manchester, and one of the late Dr. Moulton's colleagues on the staff of the Wesleyan Training College at Didsbury. Mr. Bedale is at present overseas, acting as one of H.M. Chaplains to the Forces. He was responsible for the transcription, transliteration, and translation of the Sumerian tablets,

SIR ADOLPHUS
WARD.

APPOINTMENT OF A
NEW GOVERNOR.

which formed the subject of the volume published by the Library in 1915, entitled: "Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library".

We take this, the first opportunity, of officially confirming the announcement which has already been given wide publicity in the columns of the press, of the acceptance by Dr. DR.
RENDEL
HARRIS. Rendel Harris, of the cordial invitation extended to him by the Governors of the John Rylands Library, on the occasion of his retirement from the Directorship of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement of the Society of Friends, at Birmingham, to settle in Manchester and become officially attached to the Library, where his ripe and varied scholarship will be of inestimable service in the development of its resources, and in the fuller realization of the aim of its Founder, which was to establish in Manchester a home of scholarly research, in other words, an institution devoted to the encouragement of learning.

Dr. Harris is no stranger to Manchester. For many years he has been a valued contributor to the library series of lectures, and has always attracted large and appreciative audiences. In this and in many other ways he has been ever ready to place his stores of learning at the service of the public, whether preachers, students, or the ordinary seekers after knowledge, in a form which was at once attractive and illuminating. It may be said, therefore, that not alone will the John Rylands Library benefit by his migration to the northern city, for those of us who know him best, and have felt the influence of the subtle charm of his personality, are convinced that his coming will mean a great accession of strength both to the intellectual and to the religious life of the city.

Dr. Harris, we are glad to say, is making a splendid recovery from the effects of his trying ordeal of last spring, and is hoping to be able to take up his residence in Manchester at Easter. He will find a most cordial welcome awaiting him from all sections of the community, not only in the city proper, but in that wider area of which the city is rightly regarded as the metropolis.

At the present time Dr. Harris is actively engaged, in collaboration with Dr. Mingana, on the second volume of "The Odes and Psalms of Solomon," the publication of which is eagerly awaited. The manuscript is practically ready for the printer, and the volume may be looked for in the course of the next few months.

Mr. William Poel, the Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society, has compiled a most interesting Chronological Table, showing what is proved and what is not proved about Shakespeare's "Life and Work," in two sheets, the first of which deals with the Elizabethan Period, 1564-1603, the second with the Jacobean Period, 1603-1616. These sheets were printed in the October and November issues of the "Monthly Letter" which is written and published by Mr. Poel, for the Shakespeare League. Such has been the interest which the publication of this "Table" has evoked, that a new edition is necessary if the demand for copies is to be satisfied. In these circumstances, at the request, and with the permission, of Mr. Poel, it will be reprinted, in a revised form, in the next issue of the BULLETIN. It will also be published in a separate form as one of "The John Rylands Library Reprints," in the usual binding, at one shilling per copy, by the Manchester University Press.

WILLIAM
POEL ON
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
LIFE AND
WORK.

Mr. Poel explains that the "Table" is not written for the experts, though it seems to be useful to them, to some extent, for reference. I wrote it, says Mr. Poel, in the hope that some public curiosity might be aroused, to urge students to make fresh endeavours to search for evidence with which to make good the many blanks, and also to discredit if possible the "Traditions" which in my opinion are unworthy of consideration.

It may not be out of place to remind readers that a few copies remain of Mr. Poel's illustrated monograph, entitled: "Some Notes on Shakespeare's Stage and Plays," which after appearing in the BULLETIN was published separately in January of last year. These may be obtained from the Manchester University Press, at the original price of one shilling each.

WILLIAM
POEL ON
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
STAGE AND
PLAYS.

It will interest readers to know that Professor Tout's article on "Mediaeval Town Planning," which appeared in our last issue, is regarded by experts as the most complete and authoritative monograph on the subject of town planning in the mediæval period. Indeed, it represents such a real contribution to the history of the subject that permission has been sought and given for its republication in "The Town Planning Review," the periodical which is edited by Professor Abercrombie for

PROFESSOR
TOUT'S ME-
DIÆVAL
TOWN
PLANNING.

the Department of Civic Design in the University of Liverpool. We are glad to know that in this way Professor Tout's work will obtain the wider publicity which it deserves.

Copies of the separate edition of this monograph, in the John Rylands series of Reprints, may still be obtained from the Manchester University Press, at the price of eighteen pence each.

The subject of town planning is exciting a good deal of attention just now for reasons which are not far to seek, and it is interesting to learn that the establishment of a School of Civic Design may be one of the next developments in the work of the University of Manchester. At present only London and Liverpool have such departments, but there are special reasons why Manchester, as the centre of a great urban community, should add to the activities of its University this important side of social teaching.

MANCHESTER'S
SCHOOL OF
CIVIC
DESIGN.

With the return to peace conditions a new era in the development of town life will open up. There has been little building of residential areas for three or four years, and when the leeway comes to be made up there will be great need for foresight and skilled guidance in the preparation of broad schemes on town-planning lines. A School of Civic Design takes within its scope all questions of urban development. It covers social and economic aspects like civic law and building regulations, as well as more material aspects like the laying out of areas, and architectural types of buildings. It provides a training-ground for the surveyor and architect, as well as the municipal administrator.

The architectural department of Manchester University, which is under the joint control of the University, the Manchester Education Committee, and the Manchester Society of Architects, is endeavouring to stimulate interest in the subject by the organization of public lectures, to prepare the way for the establishment of such a department, with its own chair and staff. Professor Tout's lecture, from which his monograph was elaborated, was therefore most timely.

In our last issue we published an interesting article on "Coptic Literature in the John Rylands Library," from the pen of the Rev. D. P. Buckle, in which the writer incidentally referred to the valuable contribution which the Coptic versions and homiletic literature make to the textual criticism and interpretation of the Bible.

SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN COPTIC HOMILIES.

In the present issue Mr. Buckle follows up this general statement by giving a list of quotations and allusions which he has drawn from one of the early Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Collection. He has commented upon certain features of the passages cited, and has collated them with the readings to be found in the published texts of the Coptic versions, and in doing so has stumbled upon what he believes to be interesting evidence of the existence of two Sahidic versions, one independent and one related to the Bohairic.

Coptic students will be able, by the aid of the facsimile which accompanies the article, to follow Mr. Buckle in his argument.

The death is announced, at Florence, at the ripe age of ninety years, of Senator Pasquale Villari, one of the most noteworthy of Italy's modern historians. Villari was born in Naples in 1827, and was thus one of the few Italians

DEATH OF
PASQUALE
VILLARI.

who saw the first and last war of liberation. In 1847 his political opinions rendered him suspect to the Neapolitan Government, and he had to seek refuge in Florence, where except for three years spent in Pisa he lived down to the time of his death. For many years he led a very quiet life, earning a scanty living by teaching Italian to foreigners, but it was during those years that he commenced the historical studies which were to make him famous, not only in Italy, but wherever historical research is cultivated. It was during these years that he began to collect the materials which were to blossom into the "Life of Savonarola," the work which at once made him famous, and by which he is perhaps best known. A few years later he published his "Life of Machiavelli". Both of these works were quickly translated into English, as well as other European languages. Villari was for a time Minister of Public Instruction, but it is as humanist and educator rather than as politician that he is best known. He published upwards of 400 volumes and pamphlets, and we are greatly indebted to Professor Bonacci for the volume of extracts which he has gathered from Villari's works, dealing with the contributions that ancient, mediæval, and modern Italy have made to civilization, and which was actually published on the historian's eighty-ninth birthday, as a tribute to his scholarship. One writer describes Villari as a man of short but dignified stature, whose innate modesty, intellectual brilliancy, and winning charm never failed to attract.

Cambridge has lost a familiar figure, by the death of Dr. James

Bass-Mullinger, after fifty-five years connection with the town, and nearly fifty years spent on his great history of the University. He began with an essay on "Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century," which had a valuable chapter on the Cambridge Platonists, and then settled down to his great work. For some time he lectured on history at St. John's, acting the while as Librarian of the College, and wrote several essays subsidiary to his main work. But his "History" was his chief work, and after three large volumes had appeared in 1873, 1884, and 1911 respectively, he received the honorary degree of Litt.D. He was still at work, when death claimed him, on the fourth volume, which was to have brought the history down to the middle of the eighteenth century. It is to be hoped that it will be taken up by some other hand and carried to a successful conclusion.

JAMES
BASS-MUL-
LINGER.

It may interest our readers to know that Mr. Asquith has been appointed Romanes Lecturer at Oxford for the present year. The list of lecturers on this foundation began with Mr. W. E. Gladstone, and has included Professor Huxley, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Morley, and President Roosevelt. No appointment was made last year.

MR. AS-
QUITH AS
ROMANES
LECTURER.

It is not generally known that for some considerable time it was practically Lord Morley's intention to give the library of the late Lord Acton to Mansfield College, Oxford. Eventually, after the most careful consideration, he decided to bestow this gift on Cambridge University. If the library had gone to Mansfield, very considerable additions to the buildings would have been necessitated, and that was one of the main reasons which decided the matter.

THE ACTON
LIBRARY.

It is doubtful whether any publishing season within living memory has shown greater signs of activity than the year 1917, and that in spite of three years of war with all its attendant difficulties. The literary output includes some 300 novels, some 200 war books, and very many volumes of poetry. But it is in serious books, especially biographical, that the season has been specially noteworthy. These include "The Life of Sir Charles Dilke"; Sir R. J. Godlee's "Lord Lister"; Sir Sidney Colvin's "Life of John Keats"; Mrs. Creighton's "Life of Thomas Hodgkin"; "Recollections of Seventy-two Years of the Hon. William

THE LITER-
ARY OUT-
PUT OF 1917.

Warren Vernon"; "Selections from the Correspondence of Lord Acton"; another volume of "Letters of John Henry Newman"; "Some Hawarden Letters, 1878-1893, written to Mrs. Drew (Miss Mary Gladstone) before and after her marriage"; L. P. Jack's "Life and Letters of Stopford Brooke"; H. Noel Williams's "Life and Letters of Admiral Sir Charles Napier," a salt of the old school, and Lord Morley's "Recollections"; to mention only the most noteworthy.

Beyond all doubt the book of the year is Lord Morley's "Recollections" which is the self-revelation of the moral stature of a great and distinguished personality, which will have a place among the great autobiographies. These recollections are interesting because of the man who writes, who tells us how he looks at the world and its great issues, but they are also interesting because he tells us what he thinks of the men with whom he has worked, of his friends, and of the public men of his day. One writer has remarked that the book comes at a curiously appropriate moment to show that a man may be a great politician and yet a gentleman; that he need not always shout with the crowd; and that a busy life spent in doing the world's immediate work need not prevent a man from keeping touch with the great realities of life, or from having a keen sense of the majesty of living and being.

The volumes are full of pen portraits. Here is a group of famous statesmen at Althorp—Lord Spencer's Seat, the original home of the famous Spencer Collection, now one of the glories of this library and also of Manchester—in 1891. "After dinner we went into what I think was the most fascinating room I ever saw in a house—great or small—one of the libraries lined with well-bound books on white enamelled shelves, with a few but not too many nick-nacks lying about, and all illuminated with the soft radiance of many clusters of wax candles. A picture to remember: Spencer, with his noble carriage, and fine red beard; G[ladstone] seated on a low stool, discoursing as usual, playful, keen, versatile; Rosebery, saying little, but now and then launching into a pleasant 'mot'; Harcourt, cheery, expansive, witty. Like a scene of one of Dizzy's novels, and all the actors, men with parts to play. The rare books they unbent over, the treasures of Althorp, have now gone to a northern city. . . ." "The men are gone save two, and can meet no more."

It is undoubtedly true to say that Lord Morley's reputation rests not so much upon his political as upon his literary work, of which he nowhere boasts. To him belongs the credit of having written the best biography of Rousseau, the best biography of Voltaire, and the best biography of Diderot, whilst his "Life of Gladstone" has already taken rank as one of the classical biographies in the English language. A high tribute to the place the writer of these recollections holds is paid by the press, in the great space which it has devoted to notices of the work.

Another book (in the list) of no little charm and significance, every page and almost every line of which is alive with interest is, "Some Hawarden Letters". The place of honour in this volume is given to Ruskin, but other great names included amongst the correspondents are the Duke of Argyll, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Robert Browning, Professor Stuart, Professor Sidgwick, Alfred Lyttleton, and A. J. Balfour. It is a definite contribution to the history of a great generation.

It seems that Mr. Gladstone left behind him forty volumes of diaries, and that Mrs. Drew raised the question of their publication in whole or in part. Lord Gladstone however discouraged the suggestion because, to quote his own words: "The diaries are a daily record of conscience, unique in their rigidity of self-examination and introspection. . . . At present they are unknown to the public save for some extracts in Lord Morley's 'Life'. The justification of his public action lies not in the diaries but in his public statements. In the domain of moral principle it is, of course, very difficult, but his inmost soul cannot be laid bare as an answer to scurrility." It will be noticed that the possibility of the ultimate publication of the diaries is not disclaimed.

Few books dedicated to one person have been awaited with greater eagerness by the public than Mr. Gerard's "My Four Years in Germany". The volume is charmingly dedicated "To my small but tactful family of one—my wife," a dedication which is only equalled by the no less felicitous words employed by Dr. Nansen in the dedication of "Farthest North" to his wife as: "To Her who christened the ship and had the courage to wait".

Mr. Gerard's book is not only the greatest indictment of Germany and her perfidy, but is one of the heaviest blows which has been

MR. W. E.
GLAD-
STONE'S
DIARIES.

GERARD'S
INDICT-
MENT OF
GERMANY.

aimed at the Kaiser, and it has been felt. The Kaiser will be the first to admit that an ambassador who can hit back like Gerard is worthy of respect.

In our next issue we hope to publish amplifications of the following three lectures, which have been delivered from time to time in the John Rylands Library. "The Venetian Point of View in Roman History," by Professor R. S. Conway, Litt.D. ; "Dragons and Rain Gods," by Professor G. Elliot Smith, M.D., F.R.S. ; and "A Puritan Idyll : Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and his Love Story," by the Rev. Frederick J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D.

Two of the articles appearing in the present issue : "The Poetry of Lucretius," by Professor Herford, and "The Quintessence of Paulinism," by Professor Peake, will be republished almost immediately by the Manchester University Press, at the price of one shilling each. Professor Elliot Smith's contribution on "Incense and Libations" is to be expanded, by the inclusion of other important matter, dealt with by the author in his lecture on "Dragons and Rain Gods," into a volume which will be issued shortly by the same publishers. The volume will be uniform with "The Ascent of Olympus," by Dr. Rendel Harris, which appeared last year, and will probably be published at the same price of five shillings.

NEXT
ISSUE.

REPRINTS
OF
ARTICLES.

INCENSE AND LIBATIONS.¹

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.,
PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY IN THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

IT is commonly assumed that many of the elementary practices of civilization, such as the erection of rough stone buildings, whether houses, tombs, or temples, the crafts of the carpenter and the stonemason, the carving of statues, the customs of pouring out libations or burning incense, are such simple and obvious procedures that any people might adopt them without prompting or contact of any kind with other populations who do the same sort of things. But if such apparently commonplace acts be investigated they will be found to have a long and complex history. None of these things that seem so obvious to us was attempted until a multitude of diverse circumstances became focussed in some particular community, and constrained some individual to make the discovery. Nor did the quality of obviousness become apparent even when the enlightened discoverer had gathered up the threads of his predecessor's ideas and woven them into the fabric of a new invention. For he had then to begin the strenuous fight against the opposition of his fellows before he could induce them to accept his discovery. He had, in fact, to contend against their preconceived ideas and their lack of appreciation of the significance of the progress he had made before he could persuade them of its "obviousness". That is the history of most inventions since the world began. But it is begging the question to pretend that because tradition has made such inventions seem simple and obvious to us it is unnecessary to inquire into their history or to assume that any people or any individual simply did these things without any instruction when the spirit moved it or him so to do.

¹ An elaboration of a Lecture on the relationship of the Egyptian practice of mummification to the development of civilization delivered in the John Rylands Library, on 9 February, 1916.

The customs of burning incense and making libations in religious ceremonies are so widespread and capable of being explained in such plausible, though infinitely diverse, ways that it has seemed unnecessary to inquire more deeply into their real origin and significance. For example, Professor Toy¹ disposes of these questions in relation to incense in a summary fashion. He claims that "when burnt before the deity" it is "to be regarded as food, though in course of time, when the recollection of this primitive character was lost, a conventional significance was attached to the act of burning. A more refined period demanded more refined food for the gods, such as ambrosia and nectar, but these also were finally given up."

This, of course, is a purely gratuitous assumption, or series of assumptions, for which there is no real evidence. Moreover, even if there were any really early literature to justify such statements, they explain nothing. Incense-burning is just as mysterious if Prof. Toy's claim be granted as it was before. But a bewildering variety of other explanations, for all of which the merit of being "simple and obvious" is claimed, have been suggested. The reader who is curious about these things will find a luxurious crop of speculations by consulting a series of encyclopædias.²

I shall content myself by quoting only one more. "Frankincense and other spices were indispensable in temples where bloody sacrifices formed part of the religion. The atmosphere of Solomon's temple must have been that of a sickening slaughter-house, and the fumes of incense could alone enable the priests and worshippers to support it. This would apply to thousands of other temples through Asia, and doubtless the palaces of kings and nobles suffered from uncleanness and insanitary arrangements and required an antidote to evil smells to make them endurable."³

It is an altogether delightful anachronism to imagine that religious ritual in the ancient and aromatic East was inspired by such squeamishness as a British sanitary inspector of the twentieth century might experience!

¹ "Introduction to the History of Religions," p. 486.

² He might start upon this journey of adventure by reading the article on "Incense" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

³ Samuel Laing, "Human Origins," Revised by Edward Clodd, 1903, p. 38



FIG. 1.—THE CONVENTIONAL EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE BURNING OF
INCENSE AND THE POURING OF LIBATIONS
(Period of the New Empire)—after Lepsius

But if there are these many diverse and mutually destructive reasons in explanation of the origin of incense-burning, it follows that the meaning of the practice cannot be so "simple and obvious". For scholars in the past have been unable to agree as to the sense in which these adjectives should be applied.

But no useful purpose would be served by enumerating a collection of learned fallacies and exposing their contradictions when the true explanation has been provided in the earliest body of literature that has come down from antiquity. I refer to the Egyptian "Pyramid Texts".

Before this ancient testimony is examined certain general principles involved in the discussion of such problems should be considered. In this connexion it is appropriate to quote the apt remarks made, in reference to the practice of totemism, by Professor Sollas.¹ "If it is difficult to conceive how such ideas . . . originated at all, it is still more difficult to understand how they should have arisen repeatedly and have developed in much the same way among races evolving independently in different environments. It is at least simpler to suppose that all [of them] have a common source . . . and may have been carried . . . to remote parts of the world."

I do not think that anyone who conscientiously and without bias examines the evidence relating to incense-burning, the arbitrary details of the ritual and the peculiar circumstances under which it is practised in different countries, can refuse to admit that so artificial a custom must have been dispersed throughout the world from some one centre where it was devised.

The remarkable fact that emerges from an examination of these so-called "obvious explanations" of ethnological phenomena is the failure on the part of those who are responsible for them to show any adequate appreciation of the nature of the problems to be solved. They know that incense has been in use for a vast period of time, and that the practice of burning it is very widespread. They have been so familiarized with the custom and certain more or less vague excuses for its perpetuation that they show no realization of how strangely irrational and devoid of obvious meaning the procedure is. The reasons usually given in explanation of its use are for the most part merely paraphrases of the traditional meanings that in the course of

¹ "Ancient Hunters," 2nd Edition, pp. 234 and 235.

history have come to be attached to the ritual act or the words used to designate it. Neither the ethnologist nor the priestly apologist will, as a rule, admit that he does not know why such ritual acts as pouring out water or burning incense are performed, and that they are wholly inexplicable and meaningless to him. Nor will they confess that the real inspiration to perform such rites is the fact of their predecessors having handed them down as sacred acts of devotion, the meaning of which has been entirely forgotten during the process of transmission from antiquity. Instead of this they simply pretend that the significance of such acts is obvious. Stripped of the glamour which religious emotion and sophistry have woven around them, such pretended explanations become transparent subterfuges, none the less real because the apologists are quite innocent of any conscious intention to deceive either themselves or their disciples. It should be sufficient for them that such ritual acts have been handed down by tradition as right and proper things to do. But in response to the instinctive impulse of all human beings, the mind seeks for reasons in justification of actions of which the real inspiration is unknown.

It is a common fallacy to suppose that men's actions are inspired mainly by reason. The most elementary investigation of the psychology of everyday life is sufficient to reveal the truth that man is not, as a rule, the pre-eminently rational creature he is commonly supposed to be.¹ He is impelled to most of his acts by his instincts, the circumstances of his personal experience, and the conventions of the society in which he has grown up. But once he has acted or decided upon a course of procedure he is ready with excuses in explanation and attempted justification of his motives. In most cases these are not the real reasons, for few human beings attempt to analyse their motives or in fact are competent without help to understand their own feelings and the real significance of their actions. There is implanted in man the instinct to interpret for his own satisfaction his feelings and sensations, i.e. the meaning of his experience. But of necessity this is mostly of the nature of rationalizing, i.e. providing satisfying interpretations of thoughts and decisions the real meaning of which is hidden.

Now it must be patent that the nature of this process of rationalization will depend largely upon the mental make-up of the individual—

¹ On this subject see Elliot Smith and Pear, "Shell Shock and its Lessons," Manchester University Press, 1917, p. 59.

of the body of knowledge and traditions with which his mind has become stored in the course of his personal experience. The influences to which he has been exposed, daily and hourly, from the time of his birth onward, provide the specific determinants of most of his beliefs and views. Consciously and unconsciously he imbibes certain definite ideas, not merely of religion, morals, and politics, but of what is the correct and what is the incorrect attitude to assume in most of the circumstances of his daily life. These form the staple currency of his beliefs and his conversation. Reason plays a surprisingly small part in this process, for most human beings acquire from their fellows the traditions of their society which relieves them of the necessity of undue thought. The very words in which the accumulated traditions of his community are conveyed to each individual are themselves charged with the complex symbolism that has slowly developed during the ages, and tinges the whole of his thoughts with their subtle and, to most men, vaguely appreciated shades of meaning. During this process of acquiring the fruits of his community's beliefs and experiences every individual accepts without question a vast number of apparently simple customs and ideas. He is apt to regard them as obvious, and to assume that reason led him to accept them or be guided by them, although when the specific question is put to him he is unable to give their real history.

Before leaving these general considerations¹ I want to emphasize certain elementary facts of psychology which are often ignored by those who investigate the early history of civilization.

First, the multitude and the complexity of the circumstances that are necessary to lead men to make even the simplest invention render the concatenation of all of these conditions wholly independently on a second occasion in the highest degree improbable. Until very definite and conclusive evidence is forthcoming in any individual case it can safely be assumed that no ethnologically significant innovation in customs or beliefs has ever been made twice.

Those critics who have recently attempted to dispose of this claim by referring to the work of the Patent Office thereby display a singular lack of appreciation of the real point at issue. For the ethnological

¹ For a fuller discussion of certain phases of this matter see my address on "Primitive Man," in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917, especially pp. 23-50.

problem is concerned with different populations who are assumed *not* to share any common heritage of acquired knowledge, nor to have had any contact, direct or indirect, the one with the other. But the inventors who resort to the Patent Office are all of them persons supplied with information from the storehouse of our common civilization ; and the inventions which they seek to protect from imitation by others are merely developments of the heritage of all civilized peoples. Even when similar inventions are made apparently independently under such circumstances, in most cases they can be explained by the fact that two investigators have followed up a line of advance which has been determined by the development of the common body of knowledge.

This general discussion suggests another factor in the working of the human mind.

When certain vital needs or the force of circumstances compel a man to embark upon a certain train of reasoning or invention the results to which his investigations lead depend upon a great many circumstances. Obviously the range of his knowledge and experience and the general ideas he has acquired from his fellows will play a large part in shaping his inferences. It is quite certain that even in the simplest problem of primitive physics or biology his attention will be directed only to some of, and not all, the factors involved, and that the limitations of his knowledge will permit him to form a wholly inadequate conception even of the few factors that have obtruded themselves upon his attention. But he may frame a working hypothesis in explanation of the factors he had appreciated, which may seem perfectly exhaustive and final, as well as logical and rational to him, but to those who come after him, with a wider knowledge of the properties of matter and the nature of living beings, and a wholly different attitude towards such problems, the primitive man's solution may seem merely a ludicrous travesty.

But once a tentative explanation of one group of phenomena has been made it is the method of science no less than the common tendency of the human mind to buttress this theory with analogies and fancied homologies. In other words the isolated facts are built up into a generalisation. It is important to remember that in most cases this mental process begins very early ; so that the analogies play a very obtrusive part in the building up of theories. As a rule a multitude

of such influences play a part consciously or unconsciously in shaping any belief. Hence the historian is faced with the difficulty, often quite insuperable, of ascertaining (among scores of factors that definitely played some part in the building up of a great generalization) the real foundation upon which the vast edifice has been erected. I refer to these elementary matters here for two reasons. First, because they are so often overlooked by ethnologists; and secondly, because in these pages I shall have to discuss a series of historical events in which a bewildering number of factors played their part. In sifting out a certain number of them, I want to make it clear that I do not pretend to have discovered more than a small minority of the most conspicuous threads in the complex texture of the fabric of early human thought.

Another fact that emerges from these elementary psychological considerations is the vital necessity of guarding against the misunderstandings necessarily involved in the use of words. In the course of long ages the originally simple connotation of the words used to denote many of our ideas has become enormously enriched with a meaning which in some degree reflects the chequered history of the expression of human aspirations. Many writers who in discussing ancient peoples make use of such terms, for example, as "soul," "religion," and "gods," without stripping them of the accretions of complex symbolism that have collected around them within more recent times, become involved in difficulty and misunderstanding.

For example, the use of the terms "soul" or "soul-substance" in much of the literature relating to early or relatively primitive people is fruitful of misunderstanding. For it is quite clear from the context that in many cases such people meant to imply nothing more than "life" or "vital principle," the absence of which from the body for any prolonged period means death. But to translate such a word simply as "life" is inadequate because all of these people had some theoretical views as to its identity with the "breath" or to its being in the nature of a material substance or essence. It is naturally impossible to find any one word or phrase in our own language to express the exact idea, for among every people there are varying shades of meaning which cannot adequately express the symbolism distinctive of each place and society. To meet this insuperable difficulty perhaps the term "vital essence" is open to least objection.

In my last Rylands lecture¹ I sketched in rough outline a tentative explanation of the world-wide dispersal of the elements of the civilization that is now the heritage of the world at large, and referred to the part played by Ancient Egypt in the development of certain arts, customs, and beliefs. On the present occasion I propose to examine certain aspects of this process of development in greater detail, and to study the far-reaching influence exerted by the Egyptian practice of mummification, and the ideas that were suggested by it, in starting new trains of thought, in stimulating the invention of arts and crafts that were unknown before then, and in shaping the complex body of customs and beliefs that were the outcome of these potent intellectual ferments.

In speaking of the relationship of the practice of mummification to the development of civilization, however, I have in mind not merely the influence it exerted upon the moulding of culture, but also the part played by the trend of philosophy in the world at large in determining the Egyptian's conceptions of the wider significance of embalming, and the reaction of these effects upon the current doctrines of the meaning of natural phenomena.

No doubt it will be asked at the outset, what possible connexion can there be between the practice of so fantastic and gruesome an art as the embalming of the dead and the building up of civilization? Is it conceivable that the course of the development of the arts and crafts, the customs and beliefs, and the social and political organizations—in fact any of the essential elements of civilization—has been deflected a hair's breadth to the right or left as the outcome, directly or indirectly, of such a practice?

In previous essays and lectures² I have indicated how intimately this custom was related, not merely to the invention of the arts and crafts of the carpenter and stonemason and all that is implied in the building up of what Professor Lethaby has called the "matrix of civilization," but also to the shaping of religious beliefs and ritual practices,

¹ "The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America," *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Jan.-March, 1916.

² "The Migrations of Early Culture," 1915, Manchester University Press: "The Evolution of the Rock-cut Tomb and the Dolmen," *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 493: "Oriental Tombs and Temples," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1914-1915, p. 55.

which developed in association with the evolution of the temple and the conception of a material resurrection. I have also suggested the far-reaching significance of an indirect influence of the practice of mummification in the history of civilization. It was mainly responsible for prompting the earliest great maritime expeditions of which the history has been preserved.¹ For many centuries the quest of resins and balsams for embalming and for use in temple ritual, and wood for coffin-making, continued to provide the chief motives which induced the Egyptians to undertake sea-trafficking in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The knowledge and experience thus acquired ultimately made it possible for the Egyptians and their pupils to push their adventures further afield. It is impossible adequately to estimate the vastness of the influence of such intercourse, not merely in spreading abroad throughout the world the germs of our common civilization, but also, by bringing into close contact peoples of varied histories and traditions, in stimulating progress. Even if the practice of mummification had exerted no other noteworthy effect in the history of the world, this fact alone would have given it a pre-eminent place.

Another aspect of the influence of mummification I have already discussed, and do not intend to consider further in this lecture. I refer to the manifold ways in which it affected the history of medicine and pharmacy. By accustoming the Egyptians, through thirty centuries, to the idea of cutting the human corpse, it made it possible for Greek physicians of the Ptolemaic and later ages to initiate in Alexandria the systematic dissection of the human body which popular prejudice forbade elsewhere, and especially in Greece itself. Upon this foundation the knowledge of anatomy and the science of medicine has been built up.² But in many other ways the practice of mummification exerted far-reaching effects, directly and indirectly, upon the development of medical and pharmaceutical knowledge and methods.³

¹ "Ships as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture," Manchester University Press, 1917, p. 37.

² "Egyptian Mummies," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. I, Part III, July, 1914, p. 189.

³ Such, for example, as its influence in the acquisition of the means of preserving the tissues of the body, which has played so large a part in the development of the sciences of anatomy, pathology, and in fact biology in general. The practice of mummification was largely responsible for the attainment of a knowledge of the properties of many drugs and especially

There is then this *prima-facie* evidence that the Egyptian practice of mummification was closely related to the development of architecture, maritime trafficking, and medicine. But what I am chiefly concerned with in the present lecture is the discussion of the much vaster part it played in shaping the innermost beliefs of mankind and directing the course of the religious aspirations and the scientific opinions, not merely of the Egyptians themselves, but also of the world at large, for many centuries afterward.

It had a profound influence upon the history of human thought. The vague and ill-defined ideas of physiology and psychology, which had probably been developing since Aurignacian times¹ in Europe, were suddenly crystallized into a coherent structure and definite form by the musings of the Egyptian embalmer. But at the same time the new philosophy found expression in the invention of the first deities, the establishment of the foundations upon which all religious ritual was subsequently built up, and the initiation of a priesthood to administer the rites which were suggested by the practice of mummification.

THE BEGINNING OF STONE-WORKING.

During the last few years I have repeatedly had occasion to point out the fundamental fallacy underlying much of the modern speculation in ethnology, and I have no intention of repeating these strictures here.² But it is a significant fact that, when one leaves the writings of professed ethnologists and turns to the histories of their special subjects written by scholars in kindred fields of investigation, views such

of those which restrain putrefactive changes. But it was not merely in the acquisition of a knowledge of material facts that mummification exerted its influence. The humoral theory of pathology and medicine, which prevailed for so many centuries and the effects of which are embalmed for all time in our common speech, was closely related in its inception to the ideas which I shall discuss in these pages. The Egyptians themselves did not profit to any appreciable extent from the remarkable opportunities which their practice of embalming provided for studying human anatomy. The sanctity of these ritual acts was fatal to the employment of such opportunities to gain knowledge. Nor was the attitude of mind of the Egyptians such as to permit the acquisition of a real appreciation of the structure of the body.

¹ See my address, "Primitive Man," *Proc. Brit. Academy*, 1917.

² See, however, *op. cit. supra*; also "The Origin of the Pre-Columbian Civilization of America," *Science*, N.S., Vol. XLV, No. 1158, pp. 241-246, 9 March, 1917.

as I have been setting forth will often be found to be accepted without question or comment as the obvious truth.

There is an excellent little book entitled "Architecture," written by Professor W. R. Lethaby for the Home University Library, that affords an admirable illustration of this interesting fact. I refer to this particular work because it gives lucid expression to some of the ideas that I wish to submit for consideration. "Two arts have changed the surface of the world, Agriculture and Architecture" (p. 1). "To a large degree architecture" [which he defines as "the matrix of civilization"] "is an Egyptian art" (p. 66) : for in Egypt "we shall best find the origins of architecture as a whole" (p. 21).

Nevertheless Professor Lethaby bows the knee to current tradition when he makes the wholly unwarranted assumption that Egypt probably learnt its art from Babylonia. He puts forward this remarkable claim in spite of his frank confession that "little or nothing is known of a primitive age in Mesopotamia. At a remote time the art of Babylonia was that of a civilized people. As has been said, there is a great similarity between this art and that of dynastic times in Egypt. Yet it appears that Egypt borrowed of Asia, rather than the reverse." [He gives no reasons for this opinion, for which there is no evidence, except possibly the invention of bricks for building.] "If the origins of art in Babylonia were as fully known as those in Egypt, the story of architecture might have to begin in Asia instead of Egypt" (p. 67).

But later on he speaks in a more convincing manner of the known facts when he says (p. 82) :—

When Greece entered on her period of high-strung life the time of first invention in the arts was over—the heroes of Craft, like Tubal Cain and Daedalus, necessarily belong to the infancy of culture. The phenomenon of Egypt could not occur again ; the mission of Greece was rather to settle down to a task of gathering, interpreting, and bringing to perfection Egypt's gifts. The arts of civilization were never developed in watertight compartments, as is shown by the uniformity of custom over the modern world. Further, if any new nation enters into the circle of culture it seems that, like Japan, it must 'borrow the capital'. The art of Greece could hardly have been more self-originated than is the science of Japan. Ideas of the temple and of the fortified town must have spread from the East, the square-roomed house, columnar orders, fine masonry, were all Egyptian.

Elsewhere¹ I have pointed out that it was the importance which

¹ *Op. cit. supra.*

the Egyptian came to attach to the preservation of the dead and to the making of adequate provision for the deceased's welfare that gradually led to the aggrandisement of the tomb. In course of time this impelled him to cut into the rock,¹ and, later still, suggested the substitution of stone for brick in erecting the chapel of offerings above ground. The Egyptian burial customs were thus intimately related to the conceptions that grew up with the invention of embalming. The evidence in confirmation of this is so precise that every one who conscientiously examines it must be forced to the conclusion that man did not instinctively select stone as a suitable material with which to erect temples and houses and forthwith begin to quarry and shape it for such purposes.

There was an intimate connexion between the first use of stone for building and the practice of mummification. It was probably for this reason, and not from any abstract sense of "wonder at the magic of art," as Professor Lethaby claims, that "ideas of sacredness, of ritual rightness, of magic stability and correspondence with the universe, and of perfection of form and proportion" came to be associated with stone buildings.

At first stone was used only for such sacred purposes and the pharaoh alone was entitled to use it for his palaces in virtue of the fact that he was divine, the son and incarnation on earth of the Sun-god. It was only when these Egyptian practices were transplanted to other countries, where these restrictions did not obtain, that the rigid wall of convention was broken down.

Even in Rome until well into the Christian era "the largest domestic and civil buildings were of plastered brick". "Wrought masonry seems to have been demanded only for the great monuments, triumphal arches, theatres, temples and above all for the Coliseum." (Lethaby, *op. cit.* p. 120).

Nevertheless Rome was mainly responsible for breaking down the hieratic tradition which forbade the use of stone for civil purposes. "In Roman architecture the engineering element became paramount. It was this which broke the moulds of tradition and recast construction into modern form, and made it free once more" (p. 130).

¹ For the earliest evidence of the cutting of stone for architectural purposes, see my statement in the *Report of the British Association for 1914*, p. 212.

But Egypt was not only responsible for inaugurating the use of stone for building. For another forty centuries she continued to be the inventor of new devices in architecture. From time to time methods of building which developed in Egypt were adopted by her neighbours and spread far and wide. The shaft-tombs and *mastabas* of the Egyptian Pyramid Age were adopted in various localities in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean,¹ with certain modifications in each place, and in turn became the models which were roughly copied in later ages by the wandering dolmen-builders. The round tombs of Crete and Mycenae were clearly only local modifications of their square prototypes, the Egyptian Pyramids of the Middle Kingdom. "While this Ægean art gathered from, and perhaps gave to, Egypt, it passed on its ideals to the north and west of Europe, where the productions of the Bronze Age clearly show its influence" (Lethaby, p. 78) in the chambered mounds of the Iberian peninsula and Brittany, of New Grange in Ireland and of Maes Howe in the Orkneys.² In the East the influence of these Ægean modifications may possibly be seen in the Indian *stupas* and the *dagabas* of Ceylon, just as the stone stepped pyramids there reveal the effects of contact with the civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt.

Professor Lethaby sees the influence of Egypt in the orientation of Christian churches (p. 133), as well as in many of their structural details (p. 142); in the domed roofs, the iconography, the symbolism, and the decoration of Byzantine architecture (p. 138); and in Mohammedan buildings wherever they are found.

For it was not only the architecture of Greece, Rome, and Christendom that received its inspiration from Egypt, but that of Islâm also. These buildings were not, like the religion itself, in the main Arabic in origin. "Primitive Arabian art itself is quite negligible. When the new strength of the followers of the Prophet was consoli-

¹ Especially in Crete, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and the North African Littoral.

² For an account of the evidence relating to these monuments, with full bibliographical references, see Déchelette, "Manuel d'Archéologie pré-historique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine," T. 1, 1912, pp. 390 *et seq.*; also Sophus Müller, "Urgeschichte Europas," 1905, pp. 74 and 75; and Louis Siret, "Les Cassitérides et l'Empire Colonial des Phéniciens," *L'Anthropologie*, T. 20, 1909, p. 313.

dated with great rapidity into a rich and powerful empire, it took over the arts and artists of the conquered lands, extending from North Africa to Persia" (p. 158); and it is known how this influence spread as far west as Spain and as far east as Indonesia. "The Pharos at Alexandria, the great lighthouse built about 280 B.C., almost appears to have been the parent of all high and isolated towers. . . . Even on the coast of Britain, at Dover, we had a Pharos which was in some degree an imitation of the Alexandrian one." The Pharos at Boulogne, the round towers of Ravenna, and the imitations of it elsewhere in Europe, even as far as Ireland, are other examples of its influence. But in addition the Alexandrian Pharos had "as great an effect as the prototype of Eastern minarets as it had for Western towers" (p. 115).

I have quoted so extensively from Professor Lethaby's brilliant little book to give this independent testimony of the vastness of the influence exerted by Egypt during a span of nearly forty centuries in creating and developing the "matrix of civilization". Most of this wider dispersal abroad was effected by alien peoples, who transformed their gifts from Egypt before they handed on the composite product to some more distant peoples. But the fact remains that the great centre of original inspiration in architecture was Egypt.

The original incentive to the invention of this essentially Egyptian art was the desire to protect and secure the welfare of the dead. The importance attached to this aim was intimately associated with the development of the practice of mummification.

With this tangible and persistent evidence of the general scheme of spread of the arts of building I can now turn to the consideration of some of the other, more vital, manifestations of human thought and aspirations, which also, like the "matrix of civilization" itself, grew up in intimate association with the practice of embalming the dead.

I have already mentioned Professor Lethaby's reference to architecture and agriculture as the two arts that have changed the surface of the world. It is interesting to note that the influence of these two ingredients of civilization was diffused abroad throughout the world in intimate association the one with the other. In most parts of the world the use of stone for building and Egyptian methods of architecture made their first appearance along with the peculiarly distinctive form

of agriculture and irrigation so intimately associated with early Babylonia and Egypt.¹

But agriculture also exerted a most profound influence in shaping the early Egyptian body of beliefs.

I shall now call attention to certain features of the earliest mummies, and then discuss how the ideas suggested by the practice of the art of embalming the dead were affected by the early theories of agriculture and the mutual influence they exerted one upon the other.

THE ORIGIN OF EMBALMING.

I have already explained² how the increased importance that came to be attached to the corpse as the means of securing a continuance of existence led to the aggrandizement of the tomb. Special care was taken to protect the dead and this led to the invention of coffins, and to the making of a definite tomb, the size of which rapidly increased as more and more ample supplies of food and other offerings were made. But the very measures thus taken the more efficiently to protect and tend the dead defeated the primary object of all this care. For, when buried in such an elaborate tomb, the body no longer became desiccated and preserved by the forces of nature as so often happened when it was placed in a simple grave directly in the hot dry sand.

It is of fundamental importance in the argument set forth here to remember that these factors came into operation before the time of the First Dynasty. They were responsible for impelling the Proto-Egyptians not only to invent the wooden coffin, the stone sarcophagus, the rock-cut tomb, and to begin building in stone, but also to devise measures for the artificial preservation of the body.

But in addition to stimulating the development of the first real architecture and the art of mummification other equally far-reaching results in the region of ideas and beliefs grew out of these practices.

From the outset the Egyptian embalmer was clearly inspired by two ideals: (*a*) to preserve the actual tissues of the body with a minimum disturbance of the integrity of the surface of the body; and (*b*) to preserve a likeness of the deceased as he was in life. At first

¹ Perry, "The Geographical Distribution of Terraced Cultivation and Irrigation," *Memoirs and Proc. Manch. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, Vol. 60, 1916.

² *op. cit. supra.*

it was naturally attempted to make this simulacrum of the body itself if it were possible, or alternatively, when this ideal was found to be unattainable, from its wrappings or by means of a portrait statue. It was soon recognized that it was beyond the powers of the early embalmer to succeed in mummifying the body itself so as to retain a recognizable likeness to the man when alive: although from time to time such attempts were repeatedly made,¹ until the period of the XXI Dynasty, when the operator clearly was convinced that he had at last achieved what his predecessors, for perhaps twenty-five centuries, had been trying in vain to do.

EARLY MUMMIES.

In the earliest known (Second Dynasty) examples of Egyptian attempts at mummification² the corpse was swathed in a large series of bandages, which were moulded into shape to represent the form of the body. In a later (probably Fifth Dynasty) mummy, found in 1892 by Professor Flinders Petrie at Medûm, the superficial bandages had been impregnated with a resinous paste, which while still plastic was moulded into the form of the body, special care being bestowed upon the modelling of the face³ and the organs of reproduction, so as to leave no room for doubt as to the identity and the sex. Professor Junker has described⁴ an interesting series of variations of these practices. In two graves the bodies were covered with a layer of stucco plaster. First the corpse was covered with a fine linen cloth: then the plaster was put on, and modelled into the form of the body (p. 252). But in two other cases it was not the whole body that was

¹ See my volume on "The Royal Mummies," General Catalogue of the Cairo Museum.

² G. Elliot Smith, "The Earliest Evidence of Attempts at Mummification in Egypt," *Report British Association*, 1912, p. 612: compare also J. Garstang, "Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt," London, 1907, pp. 29 and 30. Professor Garstang did not recognize that mummification had been attempted.

³ G. Elliot Smith, "The History of Mummification in Egypt," *Proc. Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 1910: also "Egyptian Mummies," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. I, Part III, July, 1914, Plate XXXI.

⁴ "Excavations of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences at the Pyramids of Gizah, 1914," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. I, Oct. 1914, p. 250.

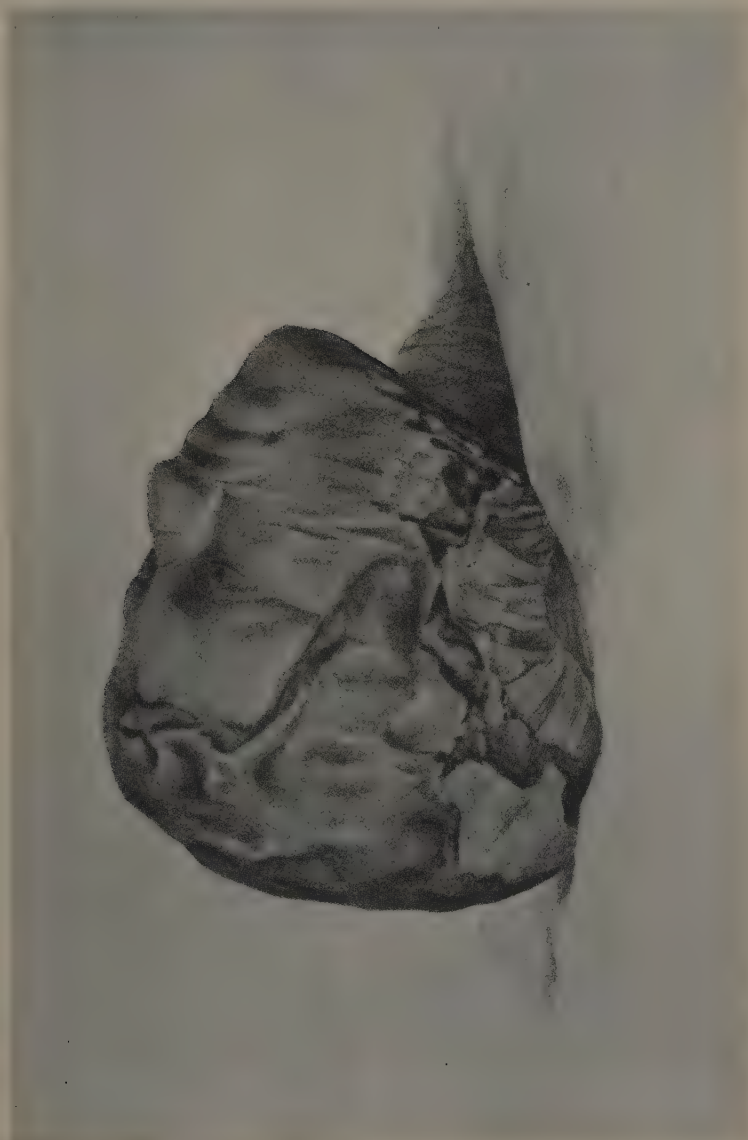


FIG. 2.—WATER-COLOUR SKETCH BY MRS. CYCIL FIRTH, REPRESENTING A RESTORATION OF THE EARLY MUMMY FOUND AT MEDÛM
BY PROF. FLINDERS PETRIE, NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS IN LONDON

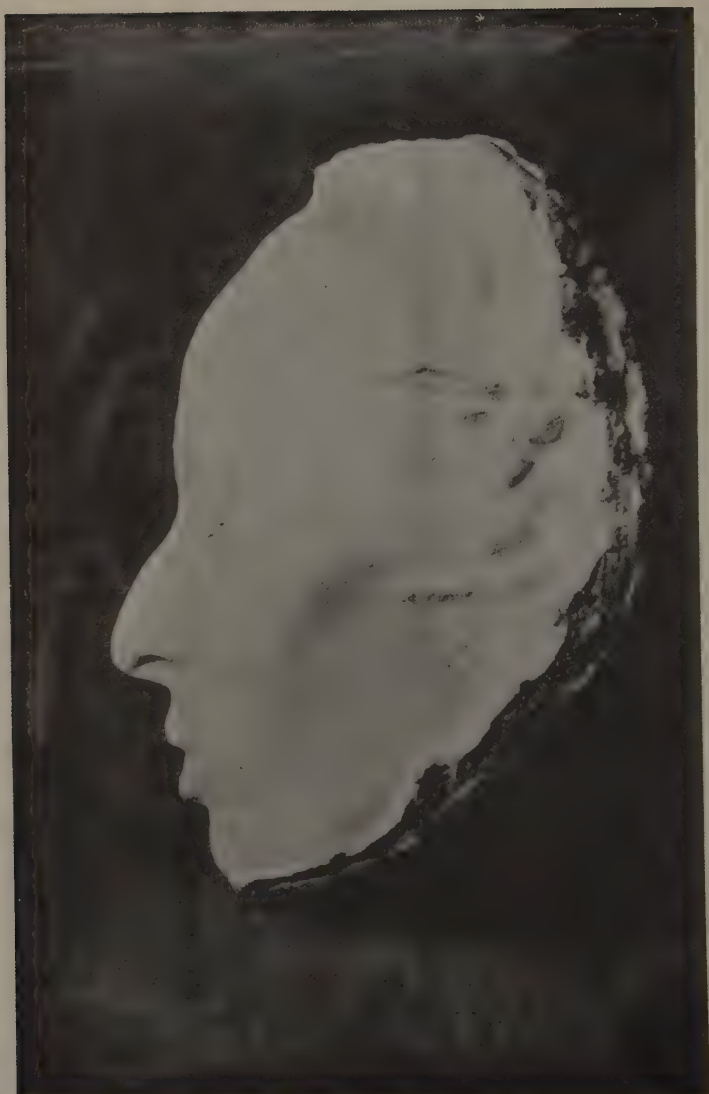


FIG. 3.—A MOULD TAKEN FROM A LIFE-MASK FOUND IN THE PYRAMID OF TETI
BY MR. QUIRELL

covered with this layer of stucco, but only the head. Professor Junker claims that this was done "apparently because the head was regarded as the most important part, as the organs of taste, sight, smell, and hearing were contained in it". But surely there was the additional and more obtrusive reason that the face affords the means of identifying the individual! For this modelling of the features was intended primarily as a restoration of the form of the body which had been altered, if not actually destroyed. In other cases, where no attempt was made to restore the features in such durable materials as resin or stucco, the linen-enveloped head was modelled, and a representation of the eyes painted upon it so as to enhance the life-like appearance of the face.

These facts prove quite conclusively that the earliest attempts to reproduce the features of the deceased and so preserve his likeness, were made upon the wrapped mummy itself. Thus the mummy was intended to be the portrait as well as the actual bodily remains of the dead. In view of certain differences of opinion as to the original significance of the funerary ritual, which I shall have occasion to discuss later on (see p. 210), it is important to keep these facts clearly in mind.

A discovery made by Mr. J. E. Quibell in the course of his excavations at Sakkara¹ suggests that, as an outcome of these practices a new procedure may have been devised in the Pyramid Age—the making of a death-mask. For he discovered what seems to be the mask taken directly from the face of the Pharaoh Teta (Fig. 3).

About this time also the practice originated of making a life-size portrait statue of the dead man's head and placing it along with the actual body in the burial chamber. These "reserve heads," as they have been called, were usually made of fine limestone, but Junker found one made of Nile mud.²

Junker believes that there was an intimate relationship between the plaster-covered heads and the reserve-heads. They were both expressions of the same idea, to preserve a simulacrum of the deceased when his actual body had lost all recognizable likeness to him as he

¹ "Excavations at Saqqara," 1907-8, p. 113.

² The great variety of experiments that were being made at the beginning of the Pyramid Age bears ample testimony to the fact that the original inventors of these devices were actually at work in Lower Egypt at that time.

was when alive. The one method aimed at combining in the same object the actual body and the likeness; the other at making a more life-like portrait apart from the corpse, which could take the place of the latter when it decayed.

Junker states further that "it is no chance that the substitute-heads . . . entirely, or at any rate chiefly, are found in the tombs that have no statue-chamber and probably possessed no statues. The statues [of the whole body] certainly were made, at any rate partly, with the intention that they should take the place of the decaying body, although later the idea was modified. The placing of the substitute-head in [the burial chamber of] the mastaba therefore became unnecessary at the moment when the complete figure of the dead [placed in a special chamber, now commonly called the *serdab*, above ground] was introduced." The ancient Egyptians themselves called the *serdab* the *pr-twt* or "statue-house," and the group of chambers, forming the tomb-chapel in the mastaba, was known to them as the "*ka*-house".¹

It is important to remember that, even when the custom of making a statue of the deceased became fully established, the original idea of restoring the form of the mummy itself or its wrappings was never lost sight of. The attempts made in the XVIII, and XXI and XXII Dynasties to pack the body of the mummy itself and by artificial means give it a life-like appearance afford evidence of this. In the New Empire and in Roman times the wrapped mummy was sometimes modelled into the form of a statue. But throughout Egyptian history it was a not uncommon practice to provide a painted mask for the wrapped mummy, or in early Christian times merely a portrait of the deceased.

With this custom there also persisted a remembrance of its original significance. Professor Garstang records the fact that in the XII Dynasty,² when a painted mask was placed upon the wrapped mummy, no statue or statuette was found in the tomb. The under-

¹ Aylward M. Blackman, "The *Ka*-House and the *Serdab*," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, Part IV, Oct., 1916, p. 250. The word *serdab* is merely the Arabic word used by the native workmen, which has been adopted and converted into a technical term by European archaeologists.

² *Op. cit.* p. 171

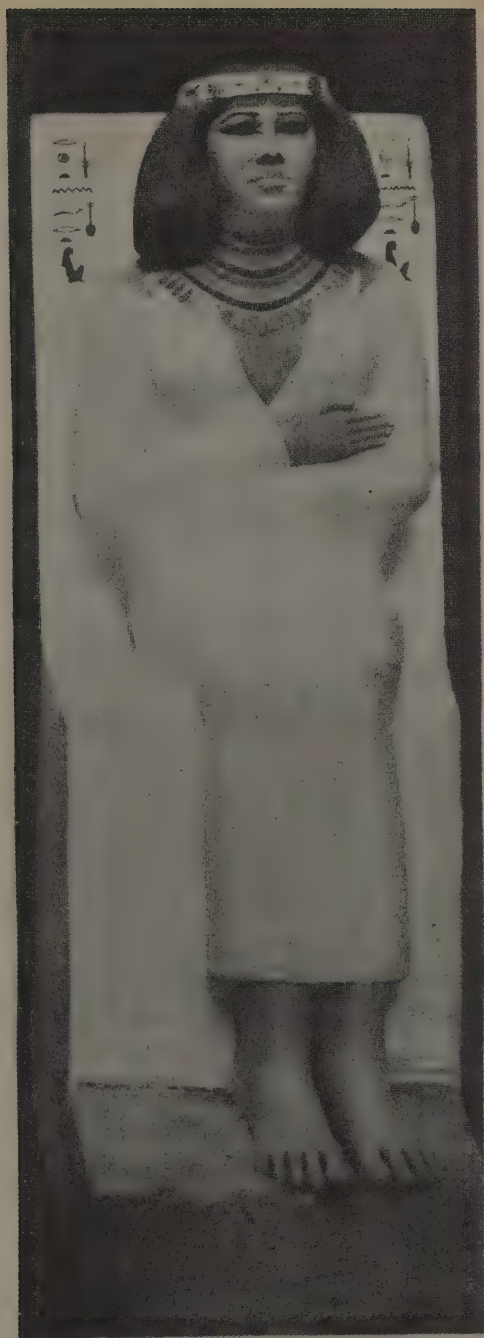


FIG. 4.—PORTRAIT STATUE OF AN EGYPTIAN
LADY OF THE PYRAMID AGE

takers apparently realized that the mummy¹ which was provided with the life-like mask was therefore fulfilling the purposes for which statues were devised. So also in the New Empire the packing and modeling of the actual mummy so as to restore its life-like appearance were regarded as obviating the need for a statue.

I must now return to the further consideration of the Old Kingdom statues. All these varied experiments were inspired by the same desire, to preserve the likeness of the deceased. But when the sculptors attained their object, and created those marvellous life-like portraits, which must ever remain marvels of technical skill and artistic feeling (Fig. 4), the old ideas that surged through the minds of the Pre-dynastic Egyptians as they contemplated the desiccated remains of the dead were strongly reinforced. The earlier people's thoughts were turned more specifically than heretofore to the contemplation of the nature of life and death by seeing the bodies of their dead preserved whole and incorruptible; and, if their actions can be regarded as an expression of their ideas, they began to wonder what was lacking in these physically complete bodies to prevent them from feeling and acting like living beings. Such must have been the results of their puzzled contemplation of the great problems of life and death. Otherwise the impulse to make more certain the preservation of the body by the invention of mummification and to retain a life-like representation of the deceased by means of a sculptured statue remains inexplicable. But when the corpse had been rendered incorruptible and the deceased's portrait had been fashioned with realistic perfection the old ideas would recur with renewed strength. The belief then took more definite shape that if the missing elements of vitality could be restored to the statue, it might become animated and the dead man would live again in his vitalized statue. This prompted a more intense and searching investigation of the problems concerning the nature of the elements of vitality of which the corpse was deprived at the time of death. Out of these inquiries in course of time a highly complex system of philosophy developed.²

¹ It is a remarkable fact that Professor Garstang, who brought to light perhaps the best, and certainly the best-preserved, collection of Middle Kingdom mummies ever discovered, failed to recognize the fact that they had really been embalmed (*op. cit.* p. 171).

² The reader who wishes for fuller information as to the reality of these beliefs and how seriously they were held will find them still in active

But in the earlier times with which I am now concerned it found practical expression in certain ritual procedures, invented to convey to the statue the breath of life, the vitalising fluids, and the odour and sweat of the living body. Apparently the seat of knowledge and of feeling was retained in the body when the heart was left *in situ*: so that the only thing needed to awaken consciousness and make it possible for the dead man to take heed of his friends and to act voluntarily was to present offerings of blood to stimulate the physiological functions of the heart. But the element of vitality which left the body at death had to be restored to the statue, which represented the deceased in the *ka*-house.¹

In my earlier attempts² to interpret these problems, I adopted the view that the making of portrait statues was the direct outcome of the practice of mummification. But Dr. Alan Gardiner, whose intimate knowledge of the early literature enables him to look at such problems from the Egyptian's own point of view, has suggested a modification of this interpretation. Instead of regarding the custom of making statues as an outcome of the practice of mummification, he thinks that the two customs developed simultaneously in response to the twofold desire to preserve both the actual body and a representation of the features of the dead. But I think this suggestion does not give adequate recognition to the fact that the earliest attempts at funerary portraiture were made upon the wrappings of the actual mummies.³ This fact and the evidence which I have already

operation in China. An admirable account of Chinese philosophy will be found in De Groot's "Religious System of China," especially Vol. IV, Book II. It represents the fully developed (New Empire) system of Egyptian belief modified in various ways by Babylonian, Indian and Central Asiatic influences, as well as by accretions developed locally in China.

¹ A. M. Blackman, "The *Ka*-House and the Serdab," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, Part IV, Oct., 1916, p. 250.

² "Migrations of Early Culture," p. 37.

³ Dr. Alan Gardiner (Davies and Gardiner, "The Tomb of Amenemhêt," 1915, p. 83, footnote) has, I think, overlooked certain statements in my writings and underestimated the antiquity of the embalmer's art; for he attributes to me the opinion that "mummification was a custom of relatively late growth".

The presence in China of the characteristically Egyptian beliefs concerning the animation of statues (de Groot, *op. cit.* pp. 339-356), whereas the practice of mummification, though not wholly absent, is not obtrusive, might perhaps be interpreted by some scholars as evidence in favour of the

quoted from Junker make it quite clear that from the beginning the embalmer's aim was to preserve the body and to convert the mummy itself into a simulacrum of the deceased. When he realized that his technical skill was not adequate to enable him to accomplish this double aim, he fell back upon the device of making a more perfect and realistic portrait statue apart from the mummy. But, as I have already pointed out, he never completely renounced his ambition of transforming the mummy itself; and in the time of the New Empire he actually attained the result which he had kept in view for nearly twenty centuries.

In these remarks I have been referring only to funerary portrait statues. Centuries before the attempt was made to fashion them modellers had been making of clay and stone representations of cattle and human beings, which have been found not only in Predynastic graves in Egypt but also in so-called "Upper Palæolithic" deposits in Europe.

But the fashioning of realistic and life-size human portrait-statues for funerary purposes was a new art, which gradually developed in the way I have tried to depict. No doubt the modellers made use of the skill they had acquired in the practice of the older art of rough impressionism.

Once the statue was made a stone-house (the *serdab*) was provided for it above ground. As the dolmen is a crude copy of the *serdab*¹ it can be claimed as one of the ultimate results of the practice

development of the custom of making statues independently of mummification. But such an inference is untenable. Not only is it the fact that in most parts of the world the practices of making statues and mummifying the dead are found in association the one with the other, but also in China the essential beliefs concerning the dead are based upon the supposition that the body is fully preserved (*see de Groot, chap. XV.*). It is quite evident that the Chinese customs have been derived directly or indirectly from some people who mummified their dead as a regular practice. There can be no doubt that the ultimate source of their inspiration to do these things was Egypt.

I need mention only one of many identical peculiarities that makes this quite certain. De Groot says it is "strange to see Chinese fancy depict the souls of the viscera as distinct individuals with animal forms" (p. 71). The same custom prevailed in Egypt, where the "souls" or protective deities were first given animal forms in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Reisner).

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, Ridgeway Essays; also *Man*, 1913, p. 193

of mummification. It is clear that the conception of the possibility of a life beyond the grave assumed a more concrete form when it was realized that the body itself could be rendered incorruptible and its distinctive traits could be kept alive by means of a portrait statue. There are reasons for supposing that primitive man did not realize or contemplate the possibility of his own existence coming to an end.¹ Even when he witnessed the death of his fellows he does not appear to have appreciated the fact that it was really the end of life and not merely a kind of sleep from which the dead might awake. But if the corpse were destroyed or underwent a process of natural disintegration the fact was brought home to him that death had occurred. If these considerations, which early Egyptian literature seems to suggest, be borne in mind, the view that the preservation of the body from corruption implied a continuation of existence becomes intelligible. At first the subterranean chambers in which the actual body was housed were developed into a many-roomed house for the deceased, complete in every detail.² But when the statue took over the function of representing the deceased, a dwelling was provided for it above ground. This developed into the temple where the relatives and friends of the dead came and made the offerings of food which were regarded as essential for the maintenance of existence.

The evolution of the temple was thus the direct outcome of the ideas that grew up in connexion with the preservation of the dead. For at first it was nothing more than the dwelling place of the re-animated dead. But when, for reasons which I shall explain later (see p. 220), the dead king became deified, his temple of offerings became the building where food and drink were presented to the god, not merely to maintain his existence, but also to restore his consciousness and so afford an opportunity for his successor, the actual king, to consult him and obtain his advice and help. The presentation of offerings and the ritual procedures for animating and restoring consciousness to the dead king were at first directed solely to these ends. But in course of time, as their original purpose became obscured, these services in the temple altered in character, and their meaning became

¹ See Alan H. Gardiner, "Life and Death (Egyptian)," *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

² See the quotation from Mr. Quibell's account in my statement in the *Report of the British Association for 1914*, p. 215.

rationalized into acts of homage and worship, and of prayer and supplication, and in much later times, acquired an ethical and moral significance that was wholly absent from the original conception of the temple services. The earliest idea of the temple as a place of offering has not been lost sight of. Even in our times the offertory still finds a place in temple services.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LIBATIONS.

The central idea of this lecture was suggested by Mr. Aylward M. Blackman's important discovery of the actual meaning of incense and libations to the Egyptians themselves.¹ The earliest body of literature preserved from any of the peoples of antiquity is comprised in the texts inscribed in the subterranean chambers of the Sakkara Pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. These documents, written forty-five centuries ago, were first brought to light in modern times in 1880-81; and since the late Sir Gaston Maspero published the first translation of them, many scholars have helped in the task of elucidating their meaning. But it remained for Blackman to discover the explanation they give of the origin and significance of the act of pouring out libations. "The general meaning of these passages is quite clear. The corpse of the deceased is dry and shrivelled. To revivify it the vital fluids that have exuded from it [in the process of mummification] must be restored, for not till then will life return and the heart beat again. This, so the texts show us, was believed to be accomplished by offering libations to the accompaniment of incantations" (*op. cit.* p. 70).

In the first three passages quoted by Blackman from the Pyramid Texts "the libations are said to be the actual fluids that have issued from the corpse". In the next four quotations "a different notion is introduced. It is not the deceased's own exudations that are to revive his shrunken frame but those of a divine body, the [god's fluid]² that

¹ "The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 50, 1912, p. 69.

² Mr. Blackman here quotes the actual word in hieroglyphics and adds the translation "god's fluid" and the following explanation in a footnote: "The Nile was supposed to be the fluid which issued from Osiris. The expression in the Pyramid texts may refer to this belief—the dead" [in the Pyramid Age it would have been more accurate if he had said the dead

came from the corpse of Osiris himself, the juices that dissolved from his decaying flesh, which are communicated to the dead sacrament-wise under the form of these libations."

This dragging-in of Osiris is especially significant. For the analogy of the life-giving power of water that is specially associated with Osiris played a dominant part in suggesting the ritual of libations. Just as water, when applied to the apparently dead seed, makes it germinate and come to life, so libations can reanimate the corpse. These general biological theories of the potency of water were current at the time, and, as I shall explain later (see p. 218), had possibly received specific application to man long before the idea of libations developed. For, in the development of the cult of Osiris¹ the general fertilizing power

king, in whose Pyramid the inscriptions were found] "being usually identified with Osiris—since the water used in the libations was Nile water."

¹ The voluminous literature relating to Osiris will be found summarized in the latest edition of "The Golden Bough" by Sir James Frazer. But in referring the reader to this remarkable compilation of evidence it is necessary to call particular attention to the fact that Sir James Frazer's interpretation is permeated with speculations based upon the modern ethnological dogma of independent evolution of similar customs and beliefs without cultural contact between the different localities where such similarities make their appearance.

The complexities of the motives that inspire and direct human activities are entirely fatal to such speculations, as I have attempted to indicate (see above, p. 195). But apart from this general warning, there are other objections to Sir James Frazer's theories. In his illuminating article upon Osiris and Horus, Dr. Alan Gardiner (in a criticism of Sir James Frazer's "The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris; Studies in the History of Oriental Religion," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. II, 1915, p. 122) insists upon the crucial fact that Osiris was primarily a king, and that "it is always as a *dead king*," "the rôle of the living king being invariably played by Horus, his son and heir".

He states further: "What Egyptologists wish to know about Osiris beyond anything else is how and by what means he became associated with the processes of vegetable life". An examination of the literature relating to Osiris and the large series of homologous deities in other countries (which exhibit *prima facie* evidence of a common origin) suggests the idea that the king who first introduced the practice of systematic irrigation thereby laid the foundation of his reputation as a beneficent reformer. When, for reasons which I shall discuss later on (see p. 220), the dead king became deified, his fame as the controller of water and the fertilization of the earth became apotheosized also. I venture to put forward this suggestion only because none of the alternative hypotheses that have been propounded

of water when applied to the soil found specific exemplification in the potency of the seminal fluid to fertilize human beings. Malinowski has pointed out that certain Papuan people, who are ignorant of the fact that women are fertilized by sexual connexion, believe that they can be rendered pregnant by rain falling upon them (*op. cit. infra*). The study of folk-lore and early beliefs makes it abundantly clear that in the distant past which I am now discussing no clear distinction was made between fertilization and vitalization, between bringing new life into being and reanimating the body which had once been alive. The process of fertilization of the female and animating a corpse or a statue were regarded as belonging to the same category of biological processes. The sculptor who carved the portrait-statues for the Egyptian's tomb was called *sa'nh*, "he who causes to live," and "the word 'to fashion' (*ms*) a statue is to all appearances identical with *ms*, 'to give birth'".¹

Thus the Egyptians themselves expressed in words the ideas which an independent study of the ethnological evidence showed many other peoples to entertain, both in ancient and modern times.²

The interpretation of ancient texts and the study of the beliefs of less cultured modern peoples indicate that our expressions: "to give birth," "to give life," "to maintain life," "to ward off death," "to insure good luck," "to prolong life," "to give life to the dead," "to animate a corpse or a representation of the dead," "to give fertility," "to impregnate," "to create," represent a series of specializations of meaning which were not clearly differentiated the one from the other in early times or among relatively primitive modern people.

seem to be in accordance with, or to offer an adequate explanation of, the body of known facts concerning Osiris.

It is a remarkable fact that in his lectures on "The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," which are based upon his own studies of the Pyramid Texts, and are an invaluable storehouse of information, Professor J. H. Breasted should have accepted Sir James Frazer's views. These seem to me to be altogether at variance with the renderings of the actual Egyptian texts and to confuse the exposition.

¹ Dr. Alan Gardener, quoted in my "Migrations of Early Culture," p. 42: see also the same scholar's remarks in Davies and Gardiner, "The Tomb of Amenemhêt," 1915, p. 57, and "A new Masterpiece of Egyptian Sculpture," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. IV, Part I, Jan., 1917.

² See J. Wilfrid Jackson, "Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture," 1917, Manchester University Press.

The evidence brought together in Jackson's work clearly suggests that at a very early period in human history, long before the ideas that found expression in the Osiris story had materialized, men entertained in all its literal crudity the belief that the external organ of reproduction from which the child emerged at birth was the actual creator of the child, not merely the giver of birth but also the source of life.

The widespread tendency of the human mind to identify similar objects and attribute to them the powers of the things they mimic led primitive men to assign to the cowry-shell all these life-giving and birth-giving virtues. It became an amulet to give fertility, to assist at birth, to maintain life, to ward off danger, to ensure the life hereafter, to bring luck of any sort. Now, as the giver of birth, the cowry-shell also came to be identified with, or regarded as, the mother and creator of the human family; and in course of time, as this belief became rationalized, the shell's maternity received visible expression and it became personified as an actual woman, the Great Mother, at first nameless and with ill-defined features. But at a later period, when the dead king Osiris gradually acquired his attributes of divinity, and a god emerged with the form of a man, the vagueness of the Great Mother who had been merely the personified cowry-shell soon disappeared and the amulet assumed, as Hathor, the form of a real woman, or, for reasons to be explained later, a cow.

The influence of these developments reacted upon the nascent conception of the water-controlling god, Osiris; and his powers of fertility were enlarged to include many of the life-giving attributes of Hathor.

EARLY BIOLOGICAL THEORIES.

Before the full significance of these procedures can be appreciated it is essential to try to get at the back of the Proto-Egyptian's mind and to understand his general trend of thought. I specially want to make it clear that the ritual use of water for animating the corpse or the statue was merely a specific application of the general principles of biology which were then current. It was no mere childish make-believe or priestly subterfuge to regard the pouring out of water as a means of animating a block of stone. It was a conviction for which the Proto-Egyptians considered there was a substantial scientific basis; and their faith in the efficacy of water to animate the dead is to be

regarded in the same light as any scientific inference which is made at the present time to give a specific application of some general theory considered to be well founded. The Proto-Egyptians clearly believed in the validity of the general biological theory of the life-giving properties of water. Many facts, no doubt quite convincing to them, testified to the soundness of their theory. They accepted the principle with the same confidence that modern people have adopted Newton's Law of Gravitation, and Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species, and applied it to explain many phenomena or to justify certain procedures, which in the light of fuller knowledge seem to modern people puerile and ludicrous. But the early people obviously took these procedures seriously and regarded their actions as rational. The fact that their early biological theory was inadequate ought not to mislead modern scholars and encourage them to fall into the error of supposing that the ritual of libations was not based upon a serious inference. Modern scientists do not accept the whole of Darwin's teaching, or possibly even Newton's "Law," but this does not mean that in the past innumerable inferences have been honestly and confidently made in specific application of these general principles.

It is important, then, that I should examine more closely the Proto-Egyptian body of doctrine to elucidate the mutual influence of it and the ideas suggested by the practice of mummification. It is not known where agriculture was first practised or the circumstances which led men to appreciate the fact that plants could be cultivated. In many parts of the world agriculture can be carried on without artificial irrigation, and even without any adequate appreciation on the part of the farmer of the importance of water. But when it came to be practised under such conditions as prevail in Egypt and Mesopotamia the cultivator would soon be forced to realize that water was essential for the growth of plants, and that it was imperative to devise artificial means by which the soil might be irrigated. It is not known where or by whom this cardinal fact first came to be appreciated, whether by the Sumerians or the Egyptians or by any other people. But it is known that in the earliest records both of Egypt and Sumer the most significant manifestations of a ruler's wisdom were the making of irrigation canals and the controlling of water. Important as these facts are from their bearing upon the material prospects of the people, they had an infinitely more profound and far-reaching effect upon the

beliefs of mankind. Groping after some explanation of the natural phenomenon that the earth became fertile when water was applied to it, and that seed burst into life under the same influence, the early biologist formulated the natural and not wholly illogical idea that water was the repository of life-giving powers. Water was equally necessary for the production of life and for the maintenance of life.

At an early stage in the development of this biological theory man and other animals were brought within the scope of the generalization. For the drinking of water was a condition of existence in animals. The idea that water played a part in reproduction was co-related with this fact.

Even at the present time many aboriginal peoples in Australia, New Guinea, and elsewhere, are not aware of the fact that in the process of animal reproduction the male exercises the physiological rôle of fertilization.¹

There are widespread indications throughout the world that the appreciation of this elementary physiological knowledge was acquired at a relatively recent period in the history of mankind. It is difficult to believe that the fundamental facts of the physiology of fertilization in animals could long have remained unknown when men became breeders of cattle. The Egyptian hieroglyphs leave no doubt that the knowledge was fully appreciated at the period when the earliest picture-symbols were devised, for the verb "to beget" is represented by the male organs of generation. But, as the domestication of animals may have been earlier than the invention of agriculture, it is quite likely that the appreciation of the fertilizing powers of the male animal may have been, and probably was, definitely more ancient than the earliest biological theory of the fertilizing power of water.

I have discussed this question to suggest that this earlier knowledge that animals could be fertilized by the seminal fluid was certainly brought within the scope of the wider generalisation that water itself was endowed with fertilizing properties. Just as water fertilized the earth so the semen fertilized the female. Water was

¹Baldwin Spencer and Gillen, "The Northern Tribes of Central Australia"; "Across Australia"; and Spencer's "Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia". For a very important study of the whole problem with special reference to New Guinea, see B. Malinowski, "Baloma: the Spirits of the Dead," etc., *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1916, p. 415.

necessary for the maintenance of life in plants and was also essential in the form of drink for animals. As both the earth and women could be fertilized by water they were homologized one with the other. The earth came to be regarded as a woman, the Great Mother.¹ When the fertilizing water came to be personified in the person of Osiris his consort Isis was identified with the earth which was fertilized by water.²

One of the earliest pictures of an Egyptian king represents him using the hoe to inaugurate the making of an irrigation-canal.³ This was the typical act of benevolence on the part of a wise ruler. It is not unlikely that the earliest organization of a community under a definite leader may have been due to the need for some systematized control of irrigation. In any case the earliest rulers of Egypt and Sumer were essentially the controllers and regulators of the water supply and as such the givers of fertility and prosperity.

Once men first consciously formulated the belief that death was not the end of all things,⁴ that the body could be re-animated and

¹ In places as far apart in space and time as Ancient Egypt and Modern America.

² With reference to the assimilation of the conceptions of human fertilization and watering the soil and the widespread idea among the ancients of regarding the male as "he who irrigates," Canon van Hoonacker gave M. Louis Siret the following note:—

"In Assyrian the cuneiform sign for water is also used, *inter alia*, to express the idea of begetting (*banû*). Compare with this the references from Hebrew and Arabic writings. In Isaiah xlvi. 1, we read 'Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah'; and in Numbers xxiv. 7, 'Water shall flow from his buckets and his seed shall be in many waters'.

"The Hebrew verb (*shangal*) which denotes sexual intercourse has, in Arabic (*sadjala*), the meaning 'to spill water'. In the Koran, Sur. 36, v. 6, the word *mâ'un* (water) is used to designate semen" (L. Siret, "Questions de Chronologie et d'Ethnographie Ibériques," Tome I, 1913, p. 250).

³ Quibell, "Hieraconpolis, Vol. I, 260, 4.

⁴ In using this phrase I want to make a clear distinction between the phase of culture in which it had never occurred to man that, in his individual case, life would come to an end, and the more enlightened stage, in which he fully realized that death would inevitably be his fate, but that in spite of it his real existence would continue.

It is clear that at quite an early stage in his history man appreciated the fact that he could kill an animal or his fellow-man. But for a long time he failed to realize that he himself, if he could avoid the process of me-

consciousness and the will restored, it was natural that a wise ruler who, when alive, had rendered conspicuous services should after death continue to be consulted. The fame of such a man would grow with age; his good deeds and his powers would become apotheosized; he would become an oracle whose advice might be sought and whose help be obtained in grave crises. In other words the dead king would be "deified," or at any rate credited with the ability to confer even greater boons than he was able to do when alive.

It is no mere coincidence that the first "god" should have been a dead king, Osiris, nor that he controlled the waters of irrigation and was specially interested in agriculture. Nor, for the reasons that I have already suggested, is it surprising that he should have had phallic attributes, and in himself have personified the virile powers of fertilization.¹

In attempting to explain the origin of the ritual procedures of burning incense and offering libations it is essential to realize that the creation of the first deities was not primarily an expression of religious belief, but rather an application of science to national affairs. It was the logical interpretation of the dominant scientific theory of the time for the practical benefit of the living; or in other words, the means devised for securing the advice and the active help of wise rulers after their death. It was essentially a matter of practical politics and applied science. It became religion only when the advancement of knowledge superseded these primitive scientific theories and left them as soothing traditions for the thoughts and aspirations of mankind to cultivate. For by the time the adequacy of these theories of knowledge began to be questioned they had made an insistent appeal, and had come to be regarded as an essential prop to lend support to man's conviction of the reality of a life beyond the grave. A web of moral precept and the allurements of hope had been so woven around them that no force was able to strip away this body of consolatory

chanical destruction by which he could kill an animal or a fellow-man, would not continue to exist. The dead are supposed by many people to be still in existence so long as the body is preserved. Once the body begins to disintegrate even the most unimaginative of men can entirely repress the idea of death. But to primitive people the preservation of the body is equally a token that existence has not come to an end. The corpse is merely sleeping.

¹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

beliefs ; and they have persisted for all time, although the reasoning by which they were originally built up has been demolished and forgotten several millennia ago.

It is not known where Osiris was born. In other countries there are homologous deities, such as Ea, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, which are certainly manifestations of the same idea and sprung from the same source. Certain recent writers assume that the germ of the Osiris-conception was introduced into Egypt from abroad. But if so, nothing is known for certain of its place of origin. In any case there can be no doubt that the distinctive features of Osiris, his real personality and character, were developed in Egypt.

For reasons which I have suggested already it is probable that the significance of water in cultivation was not realized until cereals were cultivated in some such place as Babylonia or Egypt. But there are very definite legends of the Babylonian Ea coming from abroad by way of the Persian Gulf.¹

The early history of Tammuz is veiled in obscurity. Somewhere in South Western Asia or North Eastern Africa, probably within a few years of the development of the art of agriculture, some scientific theorist, interpreting the body of empirical knowledge acquired by cultivating cereals, propounded the view that water was the great life-giving element. This view eventually found expression in the Osiris-group of legends.

This theory found specific application in the invention of libations and incense. These practices in turn reacted upon the general body of doctrine and gave it a more sharply defined form. The dead king also became more real when he was represented by an actual embalmed body and a life-like statue, sitting in state upon his throne and holding in his hands the emblems of his high office.

Thus while, in the present state of knowledge, it would be unjustifiable to claim that the Osiris-group of deities was invented in Egypt, and certainly erroneous to attribute the general theory of the fertilizing properties of water to the practice of embalming, it is true that the latter was responsible for giving Osiris a much more concrete

¹ The possibility, or even the probability, must be borne in mind that the legend of Ea arising from the waters may be merely another way of expressing his primary attribute as the personification of the fertilizing powers of water.

and clearly-defined shape, of "making a god in the image of man," and for giving to the water-theory a much richer and fuller significance than it had before.

The symbolism so created has had a most profound influence upon the thoughts and aspirations of the human race. For Osiris was the prototype of all the gods; his ritual was the basis of all religious ceremonial; his priests who conducted the animating ceremonies were the pioneers of a long series of ministers who for more than fifty centuries, in spite of the endless variety of details of their ritual and the character of their temples, have continued to perform ceremonies that have undergone remarkably little essential change. Though the chief functions of the priest as the animator of the god and the restorer of his consciousness have now fallen into the background in most religions, the ritual acts (the incense and libations, the offerings of food and blood and the rest) still persist in many countries: the priest still appeals by prayer and supplication for those benefits, which the Proto-Egyptian aimed at securing when he created Osiris as a god to give advice and help. The prayer for rain is the earliest form of religious appeal.

In using the terms "god" and "religion" with reference to the earliest form of Osiris and the beliefs that grew up with reference to him a potent element of confusion is introduced.

During the last fifty centuries the meanings of those two words have become so complexly enriched with the glamour of a mystic symbolism that the Proto-Egyptian's conception of Osiris and the Osirian beliefs must have been vastly different from those implied in the words "god" and "religion" at the present time. Osiris was regarded as an actual king who had died and been reanimated. In other words he was a *man* who could bestow upon his former subjects the benefits of his advice and help, but also could display such human weaknesses as malice, envy, and all uncharitableness. Much modern discussion completely misses the mark by the failure to recognize that these so-called "gods" were really men, equally capable of acts of beneficence and of outbursts of hatred, and as one or the other aspect became accentuated the same deity could become a Vedic *deva* or an Avestan *dæva*, a *deus* or a devil, a god of kindness or a demon of wickedness.

The acts which the earliest "gods" were supposed to perform

were not at first regarded as supernatural. They were merely the boons which the mortal ruler was supposed to be able to confer, by controlling the waters of irrigation and rendering the land fertile. It was only when his powers became apotheosized with a halo of accumulated glory (and the growth of knowledge revealed the insecurity of the scientific basis upon which his fame was built up) that a priesthood, reluctant to abandon any of the attributes which had captured the popular imagination, made it an obligation of belief to accept these supernatural powers of the gods for which the student of natural phenomena refused any longer to be a sponsor. This was the parting of the ways between science and religion ; and thenceforth the attributes of the " gods " became definitely and admittedly superhuman.

As I have already stated (p. 213) the original object of the offering of libations was thus clearly for the purpose of animating the statue of the deceased and so enabling him to continue the existence which had merely been interrupted by the incident of death. In course of time, however, as definite gods gradually materialized and came to be represented by statues, they also had to be vitalized by offerings of water from time to time. Thus the pouring out of libations came to be an act of worship of the deity ; and in this form it has persisted until our own times in many civilized countries.

But not only was water regarded as a means of animating the dead or statues representing the dead and an appropriate act of worship, in that it vitalized an idol and the god dwelling in it was thus able to hear and answer supplications. Water also became an essential part of any act of ritual rebirth.¹ As a baptism it also symbolized the giving of life. The initiate was re-born into a new communion of faith. In scores of other ways the same conception of the life-giving properties of water was responsible for as many applications of the use of libations in inaugurating new enterprises, such as " christening " ships and blessing buildings. It is important to remember that according to early Egyptian beliefs the continued existence of the dead was wholly dependent upon the attentions of the living. Unless this animating ceremony was performed not merely at the time of the funeral but also at stated periods afterwards, and unless the friends of the deceased

¹ This occurred at a later epoch when the attributes of the water-controlling deity of fertility became confused with those of the birth-giving mother goddess (*vide infra*, p. 230).

periodically supplied food and drink, such a continuation of existence was impossible.

But the development of these beliefs had far-reaching effects in other directions. The idea that a stone statue could be animated ultimately became extended to mean that the dead man could enter into and dwell in a block of stone, which he could leave or return to at will. From this arose the beliefs, which spread far and wide, that the dead, ancestors, kings, or deified kings, dwelt in stones; and that they could be consulted as oracles, who gave advice and counsel. But as any mortal at his death could thus enter into a stone, another crop of legends concerning the petrification of men and animals also developed. In other words the acts of dying and then entering into the stone were merged into one simultaneous process; and the living man or creature at once became transformed into stone.

All this rich crop of myths concerning men and animals dwelling in stones, as well as the petrification stories, which are to be found encircling the globe from Ireland to America, can be referred back to these early Egyptian attempts to solve the mysteries of death, and to acquire the means of circumventing fate.¹

These beliefs at first may have concerned human beings only. But in course of time, as the duty of revictualling an increasingly large number of tombs and temples tended to tax the resources of the people the practice developed of substituting for the real things models, or even pictures, of food-animals, vegetables, and other requisites of the dead. And these objects and pictures were restored to life or reality by means of a ritual which was essentially identical with that used for animating the statue or the mummy of the deceased himself.²

It is well worth considering whether this may not be one of the basal factors in explanation of the phenomena which the late Sir Edward Tylor labelled "animism".

So far from being a phase of culture through which many, if not all, peoples have passed in the course of their evolution, may it not

¹ For a large series of these stories see E. Sidney Hartland's "Legend of Perseus". But even more instructive, as revealing the intimate connexion of such ideas with the beliefs regarding the preservation of the body, see J. J. M. de Groot, "The Religious System of China," Vol. IV, Book II, 1901.

² In this connexion see de Groot, *op. cit.* pp. 356 and 415

have been merely an artificial conception of certain things, which was given so definite a form in Egypt, for the specific reasons at which I have just hinted, and from there spread far and wide ?

Against this view may be urged the fact that our own children talk in an animistic fashion. But is not this due in some measure to the unconscious influence of their elders ? Or at most is it not a vague and ill-defined attitude of anthropomorphism necessarily involved in all spoken languages, which is vastly different from what the ethnologist understands by "animism" ?

But whether this be so or not there can be no doubt that the "animism" of the early Egyptians assumed its precise and clear-cut distinctive features as the result of the growth of ideas suggested by the attempts to make mummies and statues of the dead and symbolic offerings of food and other funerary requisites.

Thus incidentally there grew up a belief in a power of magic by means of which these make-believe offerings could be transformed into realities. But it is important to emphasize the fact that originally the conviction of the genuineness of this transubstantiation was a logical and not unnatural inference based upon the attempt to interpret natural phenomena, and then to influence them by imitating what were regarded as the determining factors.¹

In China these ideas still retain much of their primitive influence and directness of expression. Referring to the Chinese "belief in the identity of pictures or images with the beings they represent" de Groot states that the *kwan shuh* or "magic art" is a "main branch of Chinese witchcraft". It consists essentially of "the infusion of a soul, life, and activity into likenesses of beings, to thus render them fit to work in some direction desired . . . this infusion is effected by blowing or breathing, or spurning water over the likeness : indeed breath or *khi*, or water from the mouth imbued with breath, is identical with *yang* substance or life."²

¹ It became "magical" in our sense of the term only when the growth of knowledge revealed the fact that the measures taken were inadequate to attain the desired end ; while the "magician" continued to make the pretence that he could attain that end by ultra-physical means.

² De Groot, *op. cit.* p. 356.

INCENSE.

So far I have referred in detail only to the offering of libations. But this was only one of several procedures for animating statues, mummies, and food-offerings. I have still to consider the ritual procedures of incense-burning and "opening the mouth".

From Mr. Blackman's translations of the Egyptian texts it is clear that the burning of incense was intended to restore to the statue (or the mummy) the odour of the living body and that this was part of the procedure considered necessary to animate the statue. He says "the belief about incense [which is explained by a later document, the *Ritual of Amon*] apparently does not occur in the Old Kingdom religious texts that are preserved to us, yet it may quite well be as ancient as that period. That is certainly Erman's view" (*op. cit.* p. 75).

He gives the following translation of the relevant passage in the *Ritual of Amon* (XII, 11): "The god comes with body adorned which he has fumigated with the eye of his body, the incense of the god which has issued from his flesh, the sweat of the god which has fallen to the ground, which he has given to all the gods. . . . It is the Horus eye. If it lives, the people live, thy flesh lives, thy members are vigorous" (*op. cit.* p. 72). In his comments upon this passage Mr. Blackman states: "In the light of the Pyramid libation-formulæ the expressions in this text are quite comprehensible. Like the libations the grains of incense are the exudations of a divinity,¹ 'the fluid which issued from his flesh,' the god's sweat descending to the ground. . . . Here incense is not merely the 'odour of the god,' but the grains of resin are said to be the god's sweat" (*op. cit.* p. 72). "Both rites, the pouring of libations and the burning of incense, are performed for the same purpose—to revivify the body [or the statue] of god and man by restoring to it its lost moisture" (p. 75).

In attempting to reconstitute the circumstances which led to the

¹ As I shall explain later (see page 228), the idea of the divinity of the incense-tree was a result of, and not the reason for, the practice of incense-burning. As one of the means by which the resurrection was attained incense became a giver of divinity; and by a simple process of rationalization the tree which produced this divine substance became a god.

The reference to the "eye of the body," I shall discuss later (see p. 242).

invention of incense-burning as a ritual act, the nature of the problem to be solved must be recalled. Among the most obtrusive evidences of death were the coldness of the skin, the lack of perspiration and of the odour of the living. It is important to realize what the phrase "odour of the living" would convey to the Proto-Egyptian. From the earliest Predynastic times in Egypt it had been the custom to make extensive use of resinous material as an essential ingredient (what a pharmacist would call the adhesive "vehicle") of their cosmetics. One of the results of this practice in a hot climate must have been the association of a strong aroma of resin or balsam with a living person.¹ Whether or not it was the practice to burn incense to give pleasure to the living is not known. The fact that such a procedure was customary among their successors may mean that it was really archaic, or on the other hand the possibility must not be overlooked that it may be merely the later vulgarization of a practice which originally was devised for purely ritual purposes. The burning of incense before a corpse or statue was intended to convey to it the warmth, the sweat, and the odour of life.

When the belief became well established that the burning of incense was potent as an animating force and especially a giver of life to the dead it naturally came to be regarded as a divine substance in the sense that it had the power of resurrection. As the grains of incense consisted of the exudation of trees, or, as the ancient texts express it, "their sweat," the divine power of animation in course of time became transferred to the trees. They were no longer merely the source of the life-giving incense but were themselves animated by the deity whose drops of sweat were the means of conveying life to the mummy.

The reason why the deity which dwelt in these trees was usually identified with the Mother-Goddess will become clear in the course of the subsequent discussion (p. 228). It is probable that this was due mainly to the geographical circumstance that the chief source of incense was Southern Arabia, which was also the home of the primitive goddesses of fertility. For they were originally nothing more than personifications of the life-giving cowry amulets from the Red Sea.

Thus Robertson Smith's statement that "the value of the gum of the acacia as an amulet is connected with the idea that it is a clot of

¹ It would lead me too far afield to enter into a discussion of the use of scents and unguents, which is closely related to this question.

menstruous blood, i.e., that the tree is a woman"¹ is probably an inversion of cause and effect. It was the value attached to the gum that conferred animation upon the tree. The rest of the legend is merely a rationalization based upon the idea that the tree was identified with the mother-goddess. The same criticism applies to his further contention (p. 427) with reference to "the religious value of incense" which he claims to be due to the fact that "like the gum of the *samora* (acacia) tree, . . . it was an animate or divine plant".

Many factors played a part in the development of tree-worship, but it is probable the origin of the sacredness of trees must be assigned to the fact that it was acquired from the incense and the aromatic woods which were credited with the power of animating the dead. But at a very early epoch many other considerations helped to confirm and extend the conception of deification. When Osiris was buried, a sacred sycamore grew up as "the visible symbol of the imperishable life of Osiris".² But the sap of trees was brought into relationship with life-giving water and thus constituted another link with Osiris. The sap was also regarded as the blood of trees and the incense that exuded as the sweat. Just as the water of libation was regarded as the fluid of the body of Osiris, so also, by this process of rationalization, the incense came to possess a similar significance.

For reasons precisely analogous to those already explained in the case of libations, the custom of burning incense, from being originally a ritual act for animating the funerary statue, ultimately developed into an act of homage to the deity.

But it also acquired a special significance when the cult of sky-gods developed,³ for the smoke of the burning incense then came to be regarded as the vehicle which wafted the deceased's soul to the sky or conveyed there the requests of the dwellers upon earth.⁴

"The soul of a human being is generally conceived [by the

¹ "The Religion of the Semites," p. 133. ² Breasted, p. 28.

³ For reasons explained on a subsequent page (246).

⁴ It is also worth considering whether the extension of this idea may not have been responsible for originating the practice of cremation—as a device for transferring not merely the animating incense and the supplications of the living but also the body of the deceased to the sky-world. This, of course, did not happen in Egypt, but in some other country which adopted the Egyptian practice of incense-burning, but was not hampered by the religious conservatism that guarded the sacredness of the corpse.

Chinese] as possessing the shape and characteristics of a human being, and occasionally those of an animal ; . . . the spirit of an animal is the shape of this animal or of some being with human attributes and speech. But plant spirits are never conceived as plant-shaped, nor to have plant-characters . . . whenever forms are given them, they are mostly represented as a man, a woman, or a child, and often also as an animal, dwelling in or near the plant, and emerging from it at times to do harm, or to dispense blessings. . . . Whether conceptions on the animation of plants have never developed in Chinese thought and worship before ideas about human ghosts . . . had become predominant in mind and custom, we cannot say : but the matter seems probable" (De Groot, *op. cit.* pp. 272, 273). Tales of trees that shed blood and that cry out when hurt are common in Chinese literature (p. 274) [as also in Southern Arabia] ; also of trees that lodge or can change into maidens of transcendent beauty (p. 276).

It is further significant that amongst the stories of souls of men taking up their residence in and animating trees and plants, the human being is usually a woman, accompanied by "a fox, a dog, an old raven or the like" (p. 276).

Thus in China are found all the elements out of which Dr. Rendel Harris believes the Aphrodite cult was compounded in Cyprus,¹ the animation of the anthropoid plant, its human cry, its association with a beautiful maiden and a dog.²

The immemorial custom of planting trees on graves in China is supposed by De Groot (p. 277) to be due to "the desire to strengthen the soul of the buried person, thus to save his body from corruption, for which reason trees such as pines and cypresses, deemed to be bearers of great vitality for being possessed of more *shen* than other trees, were used preferably for such purposes". But may not such beliefs also be an expression of the idea that a tree growing upon a grave is developed from and becomes the personification of the deceased ? The significance of the selection of pines and cypresses may be compared to that associated with the so-called "cedars" in Babylonia, Egypt, and Phoenicia, and the myrrh- and frankincense-producing trees in Arabia and East Africa. They have come to be

¹ "The Ascent of Olympus," 1917.

² For a collection of stories relating to human beings, generally women, dwelling in trees, see Hartland's "Legend of Perseus".

accredited with "soul-substance," since their use in mummification, and as incense and for making coffins, has made them the means for attaining a future existence. Hence in course of time they came to be regarded as charged with the spirit of vitality, the *shen* or "soul-substance".

In China also it was because the woods of the pine or fir and the cypress were used for making coffins and grave-vaults and that pine-resin was regarded as a means of attaining immortality (De Groot, *op. cit.* pp. 296 and 297) that such veneration was bestowed upon these trees. "At an early date, Taoist seekers after immortality transplanted that animation [of the hardy long-lived fir and cypress¹] into themselves by consuming the resin of those trees, which, apparently, they looked upon as coagulated soul-substance, the counterpart of the blood in men and animals" (p. 296).

Thus in the Far East there are found in intimate association the one with the other all of the bizarre assortment of beliefs out of which the Cypriote Aphrodite is supposed by Dr. Rendel Harris to have been compounded, as well as those which the ritual of incense and libations was responsible for originating in Egypt

Elsewhere in these pages it is explained how the vaguely defined Mother "Goddess" and the more distinctly anthropoid Water "God," which originally developed quite independently the one of the other, ultimately came to exert a profound and mutual influence, so that many of the attributes which originally belonged to one of them came to be shared with the other. Many factors played a part in this process of blending and confusion of sex. As I shall explain later, when the moon came to be regarded as the dwelling or the impersonation of Hathor, the supposed influence of the moon over water led to a further assimilation of her attributes with those of Osiris as the controller of water, which received definite expression in a lunar form of Osiris.

But the link that is most intimately related to the subject of this address is provided by the personification of the Mother-Goddess in incense-trees. For incense thus became the sweat or the tears of the

¹ The fact that the fir and cypress are "hardy and long-lived" is not the reason for their being accredited with these life-prolonging qualities. But once the latter virtues had become attributed to them the fact that the trees were "hardy and long-lived" may have been used to bolster up the belief by a process of rationalization.

Great Mother just as the water of libation was regarded as the fluid of Osiris.

THE BREATH OF LIFE.

Although the pouring of libations and the burning of incense played so prominent a part in the ritual of animating the statue or the mummy, the most important incident in the ceremony was the "opening of the mouth," which was regarded as giving it the breath of life.

Elsewhere¹ I have suggested that the conception of the heart and blood as the vehicles of life, feeling, volition, and knowledge may have been extremely ancient. It is not known when or under what circumstances the idea of the breath being the "life" was first entertained. The fact that in certain primitive systems of philosophy the breath was supposed to have something to do with the heart suggests that these beliefs may be a constituent element of the ancient heart-theory. In some of the rock-pictures in America, Australia, and elsewhere the air-passages are represented leading to the heart. But there can be little doubt that the practice of mummification gave greater definiteness to the ideas regarding the "heart" and "breath," which eventually led to a differentiation between their supposed functions.² As the heart and the blood were obviously present in the dead body they could no longer be regarded as the "life". The breath was clearly the "element" the lack of which rendered the body inanimate. It was therefore regarded as necessary to set the heart working. The heart then came to be looked upon as the seat of knowledge, the organ that feels and wills during waking life. All the pulsating motions of the body seem to have been regarded, like the act of respiration, as expressions of the vital principle or "life," which many ethnological writers refer to as "soul substance". The neighbourhood of certain joints where the pulse can be felt most readily, and the top of the head, where pulsation can be felt in the infant's fontanelle, were therefore regarded by some Asiatic peoples as the places where the substance of life could leave or enter the body.

It is possible that in ancient times this belief was more widespread

¹ "Primitive Man," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917, p. 41.

² The enormous complexity and intricacy of the interrelation between the functions of the "heart," and the "breath" is revealed in Chinese philosophy (see de Groot, *op. cit.* Chapter VII. *inter alia*).

than it is now. It affords an explanation of the motive for trephining the skull among ancient peoples, to afford a more ready passage for the "vital essence" to and from the skull.

In his lecture on "The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul,"¹ Professor John Burnet has expounded the meaning of early Greek conceptions of the soul with rare insight and lucidity. Originally, the word *ψυχή* meant "breath," but, by historical times, it had already been specialized in two distinct ways. It had come to mean *courage* in the first place, and secondly the *breath of life*, the presence or absence of which is the most obvious distinction between the animate and the inanimate, the "ghost" which a man "gives up" at death. But it may also quit the body temporarily, which explains the phenomenon of swooning (*λιποψυχία*). It seemed natural to suppose it was also the thing that can roam at large when the body is asleep, and even appear to another sleeping person in his dream. Moreover, since we can dream of the dead, what then appears to us must be just what leaves the body at the moment of death. These considerations explain the world-wide belief in the "soul" as a sort of double of the real bodily man, the Egyptian *ka*,² the Italian *genius*, and the Greek *ψυχή*.

Now this double is not identical with whatever it is in us that feels and wills during our waking life. That is generally supposed to be blood and not breath.

What we feel and perceive have their seat in the heart: they belong to the body and perish with it.

It is only when the shades have been allowed to drink blood that consciousness returns to them for a while.

At one time the *ψυχή* was supposed to dwell with the body in the grave, where it had to be supported by the offerings of the survivors, especially by libations (*χοαί*).

An Egyptian psychologist has carried the story back long before the times of which Professor Burnet writes. He has explained "his conception of the functions of the 'heart (mind) and tongue'." "When

¹ Second Annual Philosophical Lecture, Henriette Hertz Trust, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. VII, 26 Jan., 1916.

² The Egyptian *ka*, however, was a more complex entity than this comparison suggests.

the eyes see, the ears hear, and the nose breathes, they transmit to the heart. It is he (the heart) who brings forth every issue and it is the tongue which repeats the thought of the heart.”¹

“There came the saying that Atum, who created the gods, stated concerning Ptah-Tatenen: ‘He is the fashioner of the gods. . . . He made likenesses of their bodies to the satisfaction of their hearts. Then the gods entered into their bodies of every wood and every stone and every metal.’”²

That these ideas are really ancient is shown by the fact that in the Pyramid Texts Isis is represented conveying the breath of life to Osiris by “causing a wind with her wings”.³ The ceremony of “opening the mouth” which aimed at achieving this restoration of the breath of life was the principal part of the ritual procedure before the statue or mummy. As I have already mentioned (p. 215), the sculptor who modelled the portrait statue was called “he who causes to live,” and the word “to fashion” a statue is identical with that which means “to give birth”. The god Ptah created man by modelling his form in clay. Similarly the life-giving sculptor made the portrait which was to be the means of securing a perpetuation of existence, when it was animated by the “opening of the mouth,” by libations and incense.

As the outcome of this process of rationalization in Egypt a vast crop of creation-legends came into existence, which have persisted with remarkable completeness until the present day in India, Indonesia, China, America, and elsewhere. A statue of stone, wood, or clay is fashioned, and the ceremony of animation is performed to convey to it the breath of life, which in many places is supposed to be brought down from the sky.⁴

In the Egyptian beliefs, as well as in most of the world-wide legends that were derived from them, the idea assumed a definite form that the vital principle (often referred to as the “soul,” “soul-substance,” or “double”) could exist apart from the body. Whatever

¹ Breasted, *op. cit.* pp. 44 and 45.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 45 and 46.

³ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁴ W. J. Perry has collected the evidence preserved in a remarkable series of Indonesian legends in his recent book, “The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia”. But the fullest exposition of the whole subject is provided in the Chinese literature summarized by de Groot (*op. cit.*).

the explanation, it is clear that the possibility of the existence of the vital principle apart from the body was entertained. It was supposed that it could return to the body and temporarily reanimate it. It could enter into and dwell within the stone representation of the deceased. Sometimes this so-called "soul" was identified¹ with the breath of life, which could enter into the statue as the result of the ceremony of "opening the mouth".

It has been commonly assumed by Sir Edward Tylor and those who accept his theory of animism that the idea of the "soul" was based upon the attempts to interpret the phenomena of dreams and shadows, to which Burnet has referred in the passage quoted above. The fact that when a person is sleeping he may dream of seeing absent people and of having a variety of adventures is explained by many peoples by the hypothesis that these are real experiences which befell the "soul" when it wandered abroad during its owner's sleep. A man's shadow or his reflection in water or a mirror has been interpreted as his double. But what these speculations leave out of account is the fact that these dream- and shadow-phenomena were probably merely the predisposing circumstances which helped in the development of (or the corroborative details which were added to and, by rationalization, incorporated in) the "soul-theory," which other circumstances were responsible for creating.²

I have already called attention (p. 195) to the fact that in many of the psychological speculations in ethnology too little account is taken of the enormous complexity of the factors which determine even the simplest and apparently most obvious and rational actions of men. I must again remind the reader that a vast multitude of factors, many of them of a subconscious and emotional nature, influence men's decisions and opinions. But once some definite state of feeling inclines a man to a certain conclusion, he will call up a host of other circumstances to buttress his decision, and weave them into a complex net of rationalization. Some such process undoubtedly took place in the development of "animism"; and though it is not possible yet to

¹ See, however, the reservations in the subsequent pages.

² The thorough analysis of the beliefs of any people makes this abundantly clear. De Groot's monograph is an admirable illustration of this (*op. cit.* Chapter VII.). Both in Egypt and China the conceptions of the significance of the shadow are later and altogether subsidiary.

reconstruct the whole history of the growth of the idea, there can be no question that these early strivings after an understanding of the nature of life and death, and the attempts to put the theories into practice to reanimate the dead, provided the foundations upon which have been built up during the last fifty centuries a vast and complex theory of the soul. In the creation of this edifice the thoughts and the aspirations of countless millions of peoples have played a part, but the foundation was laid down when the Egyptian king or priest claimed that he could restore to the dead the "breath of life" and, by means of the wand which he called "the great magician,"¹ could enable the dead to be born again. The wand is supposed by some scholars to be a conventionalized representation of the uterus, so that its power of giving birth is expressed with literal directness. Such beliefs and stories of the "magic wand" are found to-day in scattered localities from the Scottish Highlands to Indonesia and America.

In this sketch I have referred merely to one or two aspects of a conception of vast complexity. But it must be remembered that, once the mind of man began to play with the idea of a vital essence capable of existing apart from the body and to identify it with the breath of life, an illimitable field was opened up for speculation. The vital principle could manifest itself in all the varied expressions of human personality, as well as in all the physiological indications of life. Experience of dreams led men to believe that the "soul" could also leave the body temporarily and enjoy varied experiences. But the concrete-minded Egyptian demanded some physical evidence to buttress these intangible ideas of the wandering abroad of his vital essence. He made a statue for it to dwell in after his death; but such a view was seriously entertained only because he had already convinced himself that the life-substance could exist apart from his body as a "double" or "twin" which reproduced the form of his real self.

Searching for material evidence to support his faith primitive man not unnaturally turned to the contemplation of the circumstances of his birth. All his beliefs concerning the nature of life can ultimately be referred back to the story of his own origin, his birth or creation.

When an infant is born it is accompanied by the after-birth or placenta to which it is linked by the umbilical cord. The full comprehension of the significance of these structures is an achievement of

¹ Alan H. Gardiner, Davies and Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 59.

modern science. To primitive man they were an incomprehensible marvel. But once he began to play with the idea that he had a double, a vital essence in his own shape which could leave the sleeping body and lead a separate existence, the placenta obviously provided tangible evidence of its reality. The considerations set forth by Blackman,¹ supplementing those of Moret, Murray and Seligman, and others, have been claimed as linking the placenta with the *ka*.

Much controversy has waged around the interpretation of the Egyptian word *ka*, especially during recent years. An excellent summary of the arguments brought forward by the various disputants up to 1912 will be found in Moret's "*Mystères Égyptiens*". Since then more or less contradictory views have been put forward by Alan Gardiner, Breasted, and Blackman. It is not my intention to intervene in a dispute as to the meaning of certain phrases in ancient literature; but there are certain aspects of the problems at issue which are so intimately related to my main theme as to make some reference to them unavoidable.

The development of the custom of making statues of the dead necessarily raised for solution the problem of explaining the deceased's two bodies, his actual mummy and his portrait statue. During life on earth his vital principle dwelt in the former, except on those occasions when the man was asleep. His actual body also gave expression to all the varied attributes of his personality. But after death the statue became the dwelling place of these manifestations of the spirit of vitality.

Whether or not the conception arose out of the necessities unavoidably created by the making of statues, it seems clear that this custom must have given more concrete shape to the belief that all of those elements of the dead man's individuality which left his body at the time of death could shift as a shadowy double into his statue.

At the birth of a king he is accompanied by a comrade or twin exactly reproducing all his features. This double or *ka* is intimately associated throughout life and in the life to come with the king's welfare. In fact Breasted claims that the *ka* "was a kind of superior

¹ Aylward M. Blackman, "Some Remarks on an Emblem upon the Head of an Ancient Egyptian Birth-Goddess," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, Part III, July, 1916, p. 199; and "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons," *ibid.* Part IV, Oct., 1916, p. 235.

genius intended to guide the fortunes of the individual *in the here-after* . . . there "he had his abode and awaited the coming of his earthly companion".¹

At death the deceased "goes to his *ka*, to the sky". The *ka* controls and protects the deceased: he brings him food which they eat together.

It is important clearly to keep in mind the different factors involved in this conception:—

(a) The statue of the deceased is animated by restoring to it the breath of life and all the other vital attributes of which the early Egyptian physiologist took cognisance.

(b) At the time of birth there came into being along with the child a "twin" whose destinies were closely linked with the child's.

(c) As the result of animating the statue the deceased also has restored to him his character, "the sum of his attributes," his individuality, later raised to the position of a protecting genius or god, a Providence who watches over his well-being.²

The points that I want to call attention to are, first, that the breath of life, or *animus*, is not identical with the *ka*, as Burnet supposes (*op. cit. supra*); secondly, that the adoption of the conception of the *ka* as a sort of guardian angel which finds its appropriate habitation in a statue that has been animated does not necessarily conflict with the view so concretely and unmistakably represented in the tomb-pictures that the *ka* is also a double who is born along with the individual.

This material conception of the *ka* as a double who is born with and closely linked to the individual is, as Blackman has emphasized,³ very suggestive of Baganda beliefs and rites connected with the placenta. At death the circumstances of the act of birth are reconstituted, and for this rebirth the placenta which played an essential part in the original process is restored to the deceased. May not the original meaning of the expression "he goes to his *ka*" be a literal description of this reunion with his placenta?

¹ "Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," p. 52. Breasted denies that the *ka* was an element of the personality.

² For an abstruse discussion of this problem see Alan H. Gardiner, "Personification (Egyptian)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 790 and 792.

³ *Op. cit. supra*.

Blackman makes the suggestion that "on the analogy of the beliefs entertained by the Hamitic ruling caste in Uganda," according to Roscoe, "the placenta,¹ or rather its ghost, would have been supposed by the Ancient Egyptians to be closely connected with the individual's personality, as" he maintains was also the case with the god or protecting genius of the Babylonians.² "Unless united with his twin's [i.e. his placenta's] ghost the dead king was an imperfect deity, i.e. his directing intelligence was impaired or lacking."

In China, as the quotations from de Groot (*op. cit.* p. 396) have shown, the placenta when placed under felicitous circumstances is able to ensure the child a long life and to control his mental and physical welfare. In view of the claims put forward by Blackman to associate the placenta with the *ka*, it is of interest to note Moret's suggestion concerning the fourteen forms of the *ka*, to which von Bissing assigns

¹ Mr. Blackman is puzzled to explain what "possible connexion there could be between the Pharaoh's placenta and the moon beyond the fact that it is the custom in Uganda to expose the king's placenta each new moon and anoint it with butter.

To those readers who follow my argument in the later pages of this discussion the reasoning at the back of this association should be plain enough. The moon was regarded as the controller of menstruation. The placenta (and also the child) was considered to be formed of menstrual blood. The welfare of the placenta was therefore considered to be under the control of the moon.

The anointing with butter is an interesting illustration of the close connexion of these lunar and maternal phenomena with the cow.

The placenta was associated with the moon also in China, as the following quotation shows.

According to de Groot (*op. cit.* p. 396), "in the *Siao 'rh fang* or Medicament for Babies, by the hand of Ts'ui Hing-kung [died 674 A.D.], it is said: 'The placenta should be stored away in a felicitous spot under the salutary influences of the sky or the moon . . . in order that the child may be ensured a long life'". He then goes on to explain how any interference with the placenta will entail mental or physical trouble to the child.

The placenta also is used as the ingredient of pills to increase fertility, facilitate parturition, to bring back life to people on the brink of death and it is the main ingredient "in medicines for lunacy, convulsions, epilepsy, etc." (p. 397). "It gives rest to the heart, nourishes the blood, increases the breath, and strengthens the *tsing*" (p. 396).

These attributes of the placenta indicate that the beliefs of the Baganda are not merely local eccentricities, but widespread and sharply defined interpretations.

² *Op. cit.* p. 241.

the general significance "nourishment or offerings". He puts the question whether they do not "personify the elements of material and intellectual prosperity, all that is necessary for the health of body and spirit" (*op. cit.* p. 209).

The placenta is credited with all the varieties of life-giving potency that are attributed to the Mother-Goddess. It therefore controls the welfare of the individual and, like all maternal amulets (*vide supra*), ensures his good fortune. But, probably by virtue of its supposed derivation from and intimate association with blood, it also ministered to his mental welfare.

In my last Rylands Lecture I referred to the probability that the essential elements of Chinese civilization were derived from the West. I had hoped that before the present statement went to the printer I would have found time to set forth in detail the evidence in substantiation of the reality of that diffusion of culture.

Briefly the chain of proof is composed of the following links : (a) the intimate cultural contact between Egypt, Southern Arabia, Sumer, and Elam from a period at least as early as the First Egyptian Dynasty ; (b) the diffusion of Sumerian and Elamite culture in very early times at least as far north as Russian Turkestan and as far east as Baluchistan ; (c) at some later period the quest of gold, copper, turquoise, and jade led the Babylonians (and their neighbours) as far north as the Altai and as far east as Khotan and the Tarim Valley, where their pathways were blazed with the distinctive methods of cultivation and irrigation ; (d) at some subsequent period there was an easterly diffusion of culture from Turkestan into China proper ; and (e) at least as early as the seventh century B.C. there was also a spread of Western culture to China by sea.

I have already referred to some of the distinctively Egyptian traits in Chinese beliefs concerning the dead. Mingled with them are other equally definitely Babylonian ideas concerning the liver.

It must be apparent that in the course of the spread of a complex system of religious beliefs to so great a distance, only certain of their features would survive the journey. Handed on from people to people, each of whom would unavoidably transform them to some extent, the tenets of the Western beliefs would become shorn of many of their details and have many excrescences added to them before the Chinese received them. In the crucible of the local philosophy they

would be assimilated with Chinese ideas until the resulting compound assumed a Chinese appearance. When these inevitable circumstances are recalled the value of any evidence of Western influence is strongly reinforced.

According to the ancient Chinese man has two souls, the *kwei* and the *shen*. The former, which according to de Groot is definitely the more ancient of the two (p. 8), is the material, substantial soul, which emanates from the terrestrial part of the Universe, and is formed of *yin* substance. In living man it operates under the name of *p'oh*, and on his death it returns to the earth and abides with the deceased in his grave.

The *shen* or immaterial soul emanates from the ethereal celestial part of the cosmos and consists of *yang* substance. When operating actively in the living human body, it is called *khi* or "breath," and *hwun*; when separated from it after death it lives forth as a refulgent spirit, styled *ming*.¹

But the *shen* also, in spite of its sky-affinities, hovers about the grave and may dwell in the inscribed grave-stone (p. 6). There may be a multitude of *shen* in one body and many "soul-tablets" may be provided for them (p. 74).

Just as in Egypt the *ka* is said to "symbolize the force of life which resides in nourishment" (Moret, p. 212), so the Chinese refer to the ethereal part of the food as its *khi*, i.e. the "breath" of its *shen*.

The careful study of the mass of detailed evidence so lucidly set forth by de Groot in his great monograph reveals the fact that, in spite of many superficial differences and apparent contradictions, the early Chinese conceptions of the soul and its functions are essentially identical with the Egyptian and must have been derived from the same source.

From the quotations which I have already given in the foregoing pages it appears that the Chinese entertain views regarding the functions of the placenta which are identical with those of the Baganda, and a conception of the souls of man which presents unmistakable analogies with those of Egypt. Yet these Chinese beliefs do not shed any clearer light than Egyptian literature does upon the problem of the possible relationship between the *ka* and the *placenta*.

¹ De Groot, p. 5.

In the Iranian domain, however, right on the overland route from the Persian Gulf to China, there seems to be a ray of light. According to the late Professor Moulton, "The later Parsi books tell us that the Fravashi is a part of a good man's identity, living in heaven and reuniting with the soul at death. It is not exactly a guardian angel, for it shares in the development or deterioration of the rest of the man."¹

In fact the Fravashi is not unlike the Egyptian *ka* on the one side and the Chinese *shen* on the other. "They are the *Manes*, 'the good folk'" (p. 144): they are connected with the stars in their capacity as spirits of the dead (p. 143), and they "showed their paths to the sun, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights," just as the *kas* guide the dead in the hereafter.

The Fravashis play a part in the annual All Soul's feast (p. 144) precisely analogous to that depicted by Breasted in the case of an Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom.² All the circumstances of the two ceremonies are essentially identical.

Now Professor Moulton suggests that the word Fravashi may be derived from the Avestan root *var*, "to impregnate," and *fravaši* mean "birth-promotion" (p. 142). As he associates this with childbirth the possibility suggests itself whether the "birth-promoter" may not be simply the placenta.

Loret (quoted by Moret, p. 202), however, derives the word *ka* from a root signifying "to beget," so that the Fravashi may be nothing more than the Iranian homologue of the Egyptian *ka*.

The connecting link between the Iranian and Egyptian conceptions may be the Sumerian instances given to Blackman³ by Dr. Langdon.

The whole idea seems to have originated out of the belief that the sum of the individual attributes or vital expressions of a man's personality could exist apart from the physical body. The contemplation of the phenomena of sleep and death provided the evidence in corroboration of this.

At birth the newcomer came into the world physically connected with the placenta, which was accredited with the attributes of the life-giving and birth-promoting Great Mother and intimately related

¹ *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 145.

² *Op. cit.* p. 264.

³ *Ibid.* p. 240.

to the moon and the earliest totem. It was obviously, also, closely concerned in the nutrition of the embryo, for was it not the stalk upon which the latter was growing like some fruit on its stem? It was a not unnatural inference to suppose that, as the elements of the personality were not indissolubly connected with the body, they were brought into existence at the time of birth and that the placenta was their vehicle.

The Egyptians' own terms of reference to the sculptor of a statue show that the ideas of birth were uppermost in their minds when the custom of statue-making was first devised. Moret has brought together (*op. cit. supra*) a good deal of evidence to suggest the far-reaching significance of the conception of ritual rebirth in early Egyptian religious ceremonial. With these ideas in his mind the Egyptian would naturally attach great importance to the placenta in any attempt to reconstruct the act of rebirth, which would be regarded in a literal sense. The placenta which played an essential part in the original act would have an equally important rôle in the ritual of rebirth.

THE POWER OF THE EYE.

In attempting to understand the peculiar functions attributed to the eye it is essential that the inquirer should endeavour to look at the problem from the early Egyptian's point of view. After moulding into shape the wrappings of the mummy so as to restore as far as possible the form of the deceased the embalmer then painted eyes upon the face. So also when the sculptor had learned to make finished models in stone or wood, and by the addition of paint had enhanced the life-like appearance, the statue was still merely a dead thing. What were needed above all to enliven it, literally and actually, in other words, to animate it, were the eyes; and the Egyptian artist set to work and with truly marvellous skill reproduced the appearance of living eyes (Fig. 5). How ample was the justification for this belief will be appreciated by anyone who glances at the remarkable photographs recently published by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner.¹ The wonderful eyes will be seen to make the statue sparkle and live. To the concrete mind of the Egyptian this triumph of art was regarded

¹ "A New Masterpiece of Egyptian Sculpture," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. IV, Part I, Jan., 1917.



FIG. 5.—STATUE OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE PYRAMID AGE TO SHOW THE TECHNICAL SKILL IN THE REPRESENTATION OF LIFE-LIKE EYES

not as a mere technical success or æsthetic achievement. The artist was considered to have made the statue really live ; in fact, literally and actually converted it into a "living image". The eyes themselves were regarded as one of the chief sources of the vitality which had been conferred upon the statue.

This is the explanation of all the elaborate care and skill bestowed upon the making of artificial eyes. No doubt also it was largely responsible for the development of the remarkable belief in the animating power of the eye. But so many other factors of most diverse kinds played a part in building up the complex theory of the eye's fertilizing potency that all the stages in the process of rationalization cannot yet be arranged in orderly sequence.

I refer to the question here and suggest certain aspects of it that seem worthy of investigation merely for the purpose of stimulating some student of early Egyptian literature to look into the matter further.¹

As death was regarded as a kind of sleep and the closing of the eyes was the distinctive sign of the latter condition the open eyes were not unnaturally regarded as clear evidence of wakefulness and life. In fact, to a matter-of-fact people the restoration of the eyes to the mummy or statue was equivalent to an awakening to life.

At a time when a reflection in a mirror or in a sheet of water was supposed to afford quite positive evidence of the reality of each individual's "double," and when the "soul," or more concretely, "life," was imagined to be a minute image or homunculus, it is quite likely that the reflection in the eye may have been interpreted as the "soul" dwelling within it. The eye was certainly regarded as peculiarly rich in "soul substance". It was not until Osiris received from Horus the eye which had been wrenched out in the latter's combat with Set that he "became a soul".²

It is a remarkable fact that this belief in the animating power of the eye spread as far east as Polynesia and America, and as far west as the British Islands.

¹ In all probability the main factor that was responsible for conferring such definite life-giving powers upon the eye was the identification of the moon with the Great Mother. The moon was the eye of Re, the sky-god.

² Breasted, "Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," p. 59. The meaning of the phrase rendered "a soul" here would be more accurately given by the word "reanimated".

Of course the obvious physiological functions of the eyes as means of communication between their possessor and the world around him ; the powerful influence of the eyes for expressing feeling and emotion without speech ; the analogy between the closing and opening of the eyes and the changes of day and night, are all hinted at in Egyptian literature.

But there were certain specific factors that seem to have helped to give definiteness to these general ideas of the physiology of the eyes. The tears, like all the body moisture, came to share the life-giving attributes of water in general. And when it is recalled that at funeral ceremonies, when natural emotion found expression in the shedding of tears, it is not unlikely that this came to be assimilated with all the other water-symbolism of the funerary ritual. The early literature of Egypt, in fact, refers to the part played by Isis and Nephthys in the reanimation of Osiris, when the tears they shed as mourners brought life back to the god. But the fertilizing tears of Isis were life-giving in the wider sense. They were said to cause the inundation which fertilized the soil of Egypt.

There is the further possibility that the beliefs associated with the cowry may have played some part, if not in originating, at any rate in emphasizing the conception of the fertilizing powers of the eye. I have already mentioned the outstanding features of the symbolism of the cowry. In many places in Africa and elsewhere the similarity of the cowry to the half-closed eyelids led to the use of the shells as artificial "eyes" in mummies. Thus the use of same shell to symbolize the female reproductive organs and the eyes may have played some part in transferring to the latter the fertility of the former. The gods were born of the eyes of Ptah. Might not the confusion of the eye with the genitalia have given a meaning to this statement ? There is evidence of this double symbolism of these shells. Cowry shells have also been employed, both in the Persian Gulf and the Pacific, to decorate the bows of boats, probably for the dual purpose of representing eyes and conferring vitality upon the vessel. These facts suggest that the belief in the fertilizing power of the eyes may to some extent be due to this cowry-association. Even if it be admitted that all the known cases of the use of cowries as eyes of mummies are relatively late and that it is not known to have been employed for such a purpose in Egypt, the mere fact that the likeness to the eyelids

so readily suggests itself may have linked together the attributes of the cowry and the eye even in Predynastic times, when cowries were placed with the dead in the grave.

Hathor's identification with the "Eye of Re" may possibly have been an expression of the same idea. But the rôle of the "Eye of Re" was due primarily to her association with the moon (*vide infra*, p. 246).

The apparently hopeless tangle of contradictions involved in these conceptions of Hathor will have to be unravelled. For "no eye is to be feared more than thine (Re's) when it attacketh in the form of Hathor" (Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 165). Thus if it was the beneficent life-giving aspect of the eye which led to its identification with Hathor, in course of time, when the reason for this connexion was lost sight of, it became associated with the malevolent, death-dealing *avatar* of the goddess, and became the expression of the god's anger and hatred toward his enemies. It is not unlikely that such a confusion may have been responsible for giving concrete expression to the general psychological fact that the eyes are obviously among the chief means for expressing hatred for and intimidating and "brow-beating" one's fellows. [In my lecture on "The Birth of Aphrodite" I shall explain the explicit circumstances that gave rise to these contradictions.]

It is significant that, in addition to the widespread belief in the "evil eye"—which in itself embodies the same confusion, the expression of admiration that works evil—in a multitude of legends it is the eye that produces petrification. The "stony stare" causes death and the dead become transformed into statues, which, however, usually lack their original attribute of animation. These stories have been collected by Mr. E. S. Hartland in his "Legend of Perseus".

There is another possible link in the chain of associations between the eye and the idea of fertility. I have already referred to the development of the belief that incense, which plays so prominent a part in the ritual for conferring vitality upon the dead, is itself replete with animating properties. "Glaser has already shown the *anti* incense of the Egyptian Punt Reliefs to be an Arabian word, *a-a-nete*, 'tree-eyes' (*Punt und die Südarabischen Reiche*, p. 7), and to refer to the large lumps . . . as distinguished from the small round drops, which are supposed to be tree-tears or the tree-blood."¹

¹ Wilfred H. Schoff, "The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," 1912, p. 164.

THE MOON AND THE SKY-WORLD.

There are reasons for believing that the chief episodes in Aphrodite's past point to the Red Sea for their inspiration, though many other factors, due partly to local circumstances and partly to contact with other civilizations, contributed to the determination of the traits of the Mediterranean goddess of love. In Babylonia and India there are very definite signs of borrowing from the same source. It is important, therefore, to look for further evidence to Arabia as the obvious bond of union both with Phœnicia and Babylonia.

The claim made in Roscher's *Lexicon der Mythologie* that the Assyrian Ishtar, the Phœnician Ashtoreth (Astarte), the Syrian Atargatis (Derketo), the Babylonian Belit (Mylitta) and the Arabian Ilat (Al-ilat) were all moon-goddesses has given rise to much rather aimless discussion, for there can be no question of their essential homology with Hathor and Aphrodite. Moreover, from the beginning, all goddesses—and especially this most primitive stratum of fertility deities—were for obvious reasons intimately associated with the moon.¹ But the cyclical periodicity of the moon which suggested the analogy with the similar physiological periodicity of women merely explains the association of the moon with women. The influence of the moon upon dew and the tides, perhaps, suggested its controlling power over water and emphasized the life-giving function which its association with women had already suggested. For reasons which have been explained already, water was associated more especially with fertilization by the male. Hence the symbolism of the moon came to include the control of both the male and the female processes of reproduction.²

The literature relating to the development of these ideas with refer-

¹ I am not concerned here with the explanation of the means by which their home became transferred to the planet Venus.

² In his discussion of the functions of the Fravashis in the Iranian Yasht, the late Professor Moulton suggested the derivation of the word from the Avestan root *var*, "to impregnate," so that *fravaśi* might mean "birth-promotion". But he was puzzled by a reference to water. "Less easy to understand is their intimate connexion with the Waters" ("Early Religious Poetry of Persia," pp. 142 and 143). But the Waters were regarded as fertilizing agents. This is seen in the Avestan Anahita, who was "the presiding genie of Fertility and more especially of the Waters" (W. J. Phythian-Adams, "Mithraism," 1915, p. 13).

ence to the moon has been summarized by Professor Hutton Webster.¹ He shows that "there is good reason for believing that among many primitive peoples the moon, rather than the sun, the planets or any of the constellations, first excited the imagination and aroused feelings of superstitious awe or of religious veneration".

Special attention was first devoted to the moon when agricultural pursuits compelled men to measure time and determine the seasons. The influence of the moon on water, both the tides and dew, brought it within the scope of the then current biological theory of fertilization. This conception was powerfully corroborated by the parallelism of the moon's cycles and those of womankind, which was interpreted by regarding the moon as the controlling power of the female reproductive functions. Thus all of the earliest goddesses who were personifications of the powers of fertility came to be associated, and in some cases identified, with the moon.

In this way the animation and deification of the moon was brought about: and the first sky deity assumed not only all the attributes of the cowry, i.e. the female reproductive functions, but also, as the controller of water, many of those which afterwards were regarded as the rôle of Osiris. The confusion of the male fertilizing powers of Osiris with the female reproductive functions of Hathor and Isis may explain how in some places the moon became a masculine deity, who, however, still retained his control over womankind and caused the phenomena of menstruation by the exercise of his virile powers.² But the moon-god was also a measurer of time and in this aspect was personified in Thoth.

The assimilation of the moon with these earth-deities was probably responsible for the creation of the first sky-deity. For once the conception developed of identifying a deity with the moon, and the Osirian beliefs associated with the deification of a dead king grew up, the moon became the impersonation of the spirit of womankind, some mortal woman who by death had acquired divinity.

After the idea had developed of regarding the moon as the spirit

¹ "Rest Days," New York, 1916, pp. 124 *et seq.*

² Wherever these deities of fertility are found, whether in Egypt, Babylonia, the Mediterranean Area, Eastern Asia, and America, illustrations of this confusion of sex are found. The explanation which Dr. Rendel Harris offers of this confusion in the case of Aphrodite, seems to me not to give due recognition to its great antiquity and world-wide distribution.

of a dead person, it was only natural that, in course of time, the sun and stars should be brought within the scope of the same train of thought, and be regarded as the deified dead. When this happened, the sun not unnaturally soon leapt into a position of pre-eminence. As the moon represented the deified female principle the sun became the dominant male deity Re. The stars also became the spirits of the dead.

Once this new conception of a sky-world was adumbrated a luxuriant crop of beliefs grew up to assimilate the new beliefs with the old and to buttress the confused mixture of incompatible ideas with a complex scaffolding of rationalization.

The sun-god Horus then became the son of Osiris. Osiris controlled not only the river and the irrigation canals, but also the rain-clouds. The fumes of incense conveyed to the sky-gods the supplications of the worshippers on earth. Incense was not only "the perfume that deifies," but also the means by which the deities and the dead could pass to their doubles in the newly invented sky-heaven. The sun-god Re was represented in his temple not by an anthropoid statue, but by an obelisk,¹ the gilded apex of which pointed to heaven and "drew down" the dazzling rays of the sun, reflected from its polished surface, so that all the worshippers could see the manifestations of the god in his temple.

These events are important, not only for creating the sky-gods and the sky-heaven, but possibly also for suggesting the idea that even a mere pillar of stone, whether carved or uncarved, upon which no attempt had been made to model the human form, could represent the deity, or rather could become the "body" to be animated by the god.² For once it was admitted, even in the home of these ancient ideas concerning the animation of statues, that it was not essential for the idol to be shaped into human form, the way was opened for less cultured peoples, who had not acquired the technical skill to carve statues, simply to erect stone pillars or unshaped masses of stone or

¹ L. Borchardt, "Das Re-heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re".

For a good exposition of this matter see A. Moret, "Sanctuaires de l'ancien Empire Égyptien," *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1912, p. 265.

² It is possible that the ceremony of erecting the *dad* columns may have played some part in the development of these beliefs. (On this see A. Moret, "Mystères Égyptiens," 1913, pp. 13-17.)

wood for their gods to enter, when the appropriate ritual of animation was performed.¹

This conception of the possibility of gods, men, or animals dwelling in stones spread in course of time throughout the world, but in every place where it is found certain arbitrary details of the methods of animating the stone reveal the fact that all these legends must have been derived from the same source.

The complementary belief in the possibility of the petrification of men and animals has a similarly extensive geographical distribution. It represents merely an abbreviated version of the original story. If a man after death could be reanimated and his "life," or what most writers call his "soul," could then take up its residence in a stone, it was merely short-circuiting this process to transform the man directly into a stone.²

THE WORSHIP OF THE COW.

Intimately linked with the subjects I have been discussing is the worship of the cow. It would lead me too far afield to enter into

¹ Many other factors played a part in the development of the stories of the birth of ancestors from stones. I have already referred to the origin of the idea of the cowry (or some other shell) as the parent of mankind. The place of the shell was often taken by roughly carved stones, which of course were accredited with the same power of being able to produce men, or of being a sort of egg from which human beings could be hatched. It is unlikely that the finding of fossilized animals played any leading rôle in the development of these beliefs, beyond affording corroborative evidence in support of them after other circumstances had been responsible for originating the stories. The more circumstantial Oriental stories of the splitting of stones giving birth to heroes and gods may have been suggested by the finding in pebbles of fossilized shells—themselves regarded already as the parents of mankind. But such interpretations were only possible because all the predisposing circumstances had already prepared the way for the acceptance of these specific illustrations of a general theory.

These beliefs may have developed before and quite independently of the ideas concerning the animation of statues; but if so the latter event would have strengthened and in some places become merged with the other story.

² For an extensive collection of these remarkable petrification legends in almost every part of the world, see E. Sidney Hartland's "The Legend of Perseus," especially Volumes I and III. These distinctive stories will be found to be complexly interwoven with all the matters discussed in this address.

the details of the process by which the earliest Mother-Goddesses became so closely associated or even identified with the cow and why the cow's horns became associated with the moon among the emblems of Hathor. But it is essential that reference should be made to certain aspects of the subject.

I do not think there is any evidence to justify the common theory that the likeness of the crescent moon to a cow's horns was the reason for the association. On the other hand it is clear that both the moon and the cow became identified with the Mother-Goddess quite independently the one of the other, and at a very remote period.

It is probable that the fundamental factor in the development of this association of the cow and the Mother-Goddess was the fact of the use of milk as food for human beings. For if the cow could assume this maternal function she was in fact a sort of foster-mother of mankind; and in course of time she came to be regarded as the actual mother of the human race and to be identified with the Great Mother.

Many other considerations helped in this process of assimilation. The use of cattle not merely as meat for the sustenance of the living but as the usual and most characteristic life-giving food for the dead naturally played a part in conferring divinity upon the cow, just as an analogous relationship made incense a holy substance and was responsible for the personification of the incense-tree as a goddess. This influence was still further emphasized in the case of cattle because they also supplied the blood which was used for the ritual purpose of bestowing consciousness upon the dead, and in course of time upon the gods also, so that they might hear and attend to the prayers of supplicants.

Other circumstances emphasize the significance attached to the cow, but it is difficult to decide whether they contributed in any way to the development of these beliefs or were merely some of the practices which were the result of the divination of the cow. The custom of placing butter in the mouths of the dead, in Egypt, Uganda, and India, the various ritual uses of milk, the employment of a cow's hide as a wrapping for the dead in the grave, and also in certain mysterious ceremonies,¹ all indicate the intimate connexion between the cow and the means of attaining a rebirth in the life to come.

I think there are definite reasons for believing that once the cow

¹ See A. Moret, *op. cit.* p. 81, *inter alia*.

became identified with the Mother-Goddess as the parent of mankind the first step was taken in the development of the curious system of ideas now known as "totemism".

This, however, is a complex problem which I cannot stay to discuss here.

When the cow became identified with the Great Mother and the moon was regarded as the dwelling or the personification of the same goddess, the Divine Cow by a process of confused syncretism came to be regarded as the sky or the heavens, to which the dead were raised up on the cow's back. When Re became the dominant deity, he was identified with the sky, and the sun and moon were then regarded as his eyes. Thus the moon, as the Great Mother as well as the eye of Re, was the bond of identification of the Great Mother with an eye. This was probably how the eye acquired the animating powers of the Giver of Life.

A whole volume might be written upon the almost world-wide diffusion of these beliefs regarding the cow, as far as Scotland and Ireland in the west, and in their easterly migration probably as far as America, to the confusion alike of its ancient artists and its modern ethnologists.¹

As an illustration of the identification of the cow's attributes with those of the life-giving Great Mother, I might refer to the late Professor Moulton's commentary² on the ancient Iranian Gâthâs, where cow's flesh is given to mortals by Yima to make them immortal. "May we connect it with another legend whereby at the Regeneration Mithra is to make men immortal by giving them to eat the fat of the . . . primeval Cow from whose slain body, according to the Aryan legends adopted by Mithraism, mankind was first created?"³

¹ See the Copan sculptured monuments described by Maudslay in Godman and Salvin's "Biologia Centrali-Americana," *Archæology*, Plate 46, representing "Stela D," with two serpents in the places occupied by the Indian elephants in Stela B—concerning which see *Nature*, November 25, 1915. To one of these intertwined serpents is attached a cow-headed human *dæmon*. Compare also the Chiriqui figure depicted by MacCurdy, "A Study of Chiriquian Antiquities," Yale University Press, 1911, fig. 361, p. 209.

² "Early Religious Poetry of Persia," pp. 42 and 43.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 43. But I think these legends accredited to the Aryans owe their parentage to the same source as the Egyptian beliefs concerning the cow, and especially the remarkable mysteries upon which Moret has been endeavouring to throw some light—"Mystères Égyptiens," p. 43.

THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE.

In these pages I have made no attempt to deal with the far-reaching and intricate problems of the diffusion abroad of the practices and beliefs which I have been discussing. But the thoughts and the aspirations of every cultured people are permeated through and through with their influence.

It is important to remember that in almost every stage of the development of these complex customs and ideas not merely the "finished product" but also the ingredients out of which it was built up were being scattered abroad.

I shall briefly refer to certain evidence from the East and America in illustration of this fact and in substantiation of the reality of the diffusion to the East of some of the beliefs I have been discussing.

The unity of Egyptian and Babylonian ideas is nowhere more strikingly demonstrated than in the essential identity of the attributes of Osiris and Ea. It affords the most positive proof of the derivation of the beliefs from some common source, and reveals the fact that Egyptian and Sumerian civilizations must have been in intimate cultural contact at the beginning of their developmental history. "In Babylonia, as in Egypt, there were differences of opinion regarding the origin of life and the particular natural element which represented the vital principle." "One section of the people, who were represented by the worshippers of Ea, appear to have believed that the essence of life was contained in water. The god of Eridu was the source of the 'water of life'."¹

"Offerings of water and food were made to the dead," not, as Mr. Mackenzie states, so that they might be "prevented from troubling the living,"² but to supply them with the means of sustenance and to

¹ Donald A. Mackenzie, "Myths of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 44 *et seq.*

² Dr. Alan Gardiner has protested against the assertions of "some Egyptologists, influenced more by anthropological theorists than by the unambiguous evidence of the Egyptian texts," to the effect that "the funerary rites and practices of the Egyptians were in the main precautionary measures serving to protect the living against the dead" (Article "Life and Death (Egyptian)," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*). I should like to emphasize the fact that the "anthropological theorists," who so frequently put forward these claims have little more justification for them than "some

reanimate them to help the suppliants. It is a common belief that these and other procedures were inspired by fear of the dead. But such a statement does not accurately represent the attitude of mind of the people who devised these funerary ceremonies. For it is not the enemies of the dead or those against whom he had a grudge that run a risk at funerals, but rather his friends ; and the more deeply he was attached to a particular person the greater the danger for the latter. For among many people the belief obtains that when a man dies he will endeavour to steal the "soul-substance" of those who are dearest to him so that they may accompany him to the other world. But as stealing the "soul-substance"¹ means death, it is easy to misunderstand such a display of affection. Hence most people who long for life and hate death do their utmost to evade such embarrassing tokens of love ; and most ethnologists, misjudging such actions, write about "appeasing the dead". It was those whom the gods *loved* who died young.

Ea was not only the god of the deep, but also "lord of life," king of the river and god of creation. Like Osiris "he fertilized parched and sunburnt wastes through rivers and irrigating canals, and conferred upon man the sustaining 'food of life'. . . . The goddess of the dead commanded her servant to 'sprinkle the Lady Ishtar with the water of life'" (*op. cit.* p. 44).

In Chapter III. of Mr. Mackenzie's book, from which I have just

Egyptologists". Careful study of the best evidence from Babylonia, India, Indonesia, and Japan, reveals the fact that anthropologists who make such claims have probably misinterpreted the facts. In an article on "Ancestor Worship" by Professor Nobushige Hozumi in A. Stead's "Japan by the Japanese" (1904) the true point of view is put very clearly : "The origin of ancestor-worship is ascribed by many eminent writers to the *dread of ghosts* and the sacrifices made to the souls of ancestors for the purpose of *propitiating* them. It appears to me more correct to attribute the origin of ancestor-worship to a contrary cause. It was the *love* of ancestors, not the *dread* of them" [Here he quotes the Chinese philosophers Shiu-ki and Confucius in corroboration] that impelled men to worship. "We celebrate the anniversary of our ancestors, pay visits to their graves, offer flowers, food and drink, burn incense and bow before their tombs, entirely from a feeling of love and respect for their memory, and no question of 'dread' enters our minds in doing so" (pp. 281 and 282).

¹ For, as I have already explained, the idea so commonly and mistakenly conveyed by the term "soul-substance" by writers on Indonesian and Chinese beliefs would be much more accurately rendered simply by the word "life," so that the stealing of it necessarily means death.

quoted, there is an interesting collection of quotations clearly showing that the conception of the vitalizing properties of the body moisture of gods is not restricted to Egypt and Osiris, but is found also in Babylonia and India, in Western Asia and Greece, and also in Western Europe.

It has been suggested that the name Ishtar has been derived from Semitic roots implying "she who waters," "she who makes fruitful".¹

"The beginnings of Semitic religion as they were conceived by the Semites themselves go back to sexual relations . . . the Semitic conception of deity . . . embodies the truth—grossly indeed, but nevertheless embodies it—that 'God is love'" (*op. cit.* p. 107).

Throughout the countries where Semitic² influence spread the primitive Mother-Goddesses or some of their specialized variants are found. But in every case the goddess is associated with many distinctive traits which reveal her identity with her homologues in Cyprus, Babylonia, and Egypt.

Among the Sumerians "life comes on earth through the introduction of water and irrigation".³ "Man also results from a union between the water-gods."

The Akkadians held views which were almost the direct antithesis of these. To them "the watery deep is disorder, and the cosmos, the order of the world, is due to the victory of a god of light and spring over the monster of winter and water; man is directly made by the gods".⁴

"The Sumerian account of Beginnings centres around the production by the gods of water, Enki and his consort Nin-ella (or Dungal), of a great number of canals bringing rain to the desolate fields of a dry continent. Life both of vegetables and animals follows the profusion of the vivifying waters. . . . In the process of life's production besides Enki, the personality of his consort is very conspicuous. She is called

¹ Barton, *op. cit.* p. 105.

² The evidence set forth in these pages makes it clear that such ideas are not restricted to the Semites: nor is there any reason to suppose that they originated amongst them.

³ Albert J. Carnoy, "Iranian Views of Origins in Connexion with Similar Babylonian Beliefs," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXVI, 1916, pp. 300-20.

⁴ This is Professor Carnoy's summary of Professor Jastrow's views as expressed in his article "Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings".

Nin-Ella, 'the pure Lady,' *Damgal-Nunna*, the 'great Lady of the Waters,' *Nin-Tu*, 'the Lady of Birth'" (p. 301). The child of Enki and Nin-ella was the ancestor of mankind.¹

"In later traditions, the personality of that Great Lady seems to have been overshadowed by that of Ishtar, who absorbed several of her functions" (p. 301).

Professor Carnoy fully demonstrates the derivation of certain early so-called "Aryan" beliefs from Chaldea. In the Iranian account of the creation "the great spring Ardvī Sūra Anāhita is the life-increasing, the herd-increasing, the fold-increasing who makes prosperity for all countries (Yt. 5, 1) . . . that precious spring is worshipped as a goddess . . . and is personified as a handsome and stately woman. She is a fair maid, most strong, tall of form, high-girded. Her arms are white and thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker. She is full of gracefulness" (Yt. 5, 7, 64, 78). "Professor Cumont thinks that Anāhita is Ishtar . . . she is a goddess of fecundation and birth. Moreover in Achæmenian inscriptions Anāhita is associated with Ahura Mazdāh and Mithra, a triad corresponding to the Chaldean triad: Sin-Shamash-Ishtar. 'Ανάιτις in Strabo and other Greek writers is treated as 'Αφροδίτη" (p. 302).

But in Mesopotamia also the same views were entertained as in Egypt of the functions of statues.

"The statues hidden in the recesses of the temples or erected on the summits of the 'Ziggurats' became imbued, by virtue of their consecration, with the actual body of the god whom they represented." Thus Marduk is said to "inhabit his image" (Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 64).

This is precisely the idea which the Egyptians had. Even at the present day it survives among the Dravidian peoples of India.² They make images of their village deities, which may be permanent or only temporary, but in any case they are regarded not as actual deities but as the "bodies" so to speak into which these deities can enter. They are sacred only when they are so animated by the goddess. The

¹ Jastrow's interpretation of a recently-discovered tablet published by Langdon under the title *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*.

² I have already (p. 233) mentioned the fact that it is still preserved in China also.

ritual of animation is essentially identical with that found in Ancient Egypt. Libations are poured out; incense is burnt; the bleeding right fore-leg of a buffalo constitutes the blood-offering.¹ When the deity is reanimated by these procedures and its consciousness restored by the blood-offering it can hear appeals and speak.

The same attitude towards their idols was adopted by the Polynesians. "The priest usually addressed the image, into which it was imagined the god entered when anyone came to inquire his will."²

But there are certain other aspects of these Indian customs that are of peculiar interest. In my Ridgeway essay (*op. cit. supra*) I referred to the means by which in Nubia the degradation of the oblong Egyptian *mastaba* gave rise to the simple stone circle. This type spread to the west along the North African littoral, and also to the Eastern desert and Palestine. At some subsequent time mariners from the Red Sea introduced this practice into India.

[It is important to bear in mind that two other classes of stone circles were invented. One of them was derived, not from the *mastaba* itself, but from the enclosing wall surrounding it (see my Ridgeway essay, Fig. 13, p. 531, and compare with Figs. 3 and 4, p. 510, for illustrations of the transformed *mastaba*-type). This type of circle (enclosing a dolmen) is found both in the Caucasus-Caspian area as well as in India. A highly developed form of this encircling type of structure is seen in the famous rails surrounding the Buddhist *stupas* and *dagabas*. A third and later form of circle, of which Stonehenge is an example, was developed out of the much later New Empire Egyptian conception of a temple.]

But at the same time, as in Nubia, and possibly in Libya, the *mastaba* was being degraded into the first of the three main varieties of stone circle, other, though less drastic, forms of simplification of the

¹ Henry Whitehead (Bishop of Madras), "The Village Deities of Southern India," Madras Government Museum, Bull., Vol. V, No. 3, 1907; Wilber Theodore Elmore, "Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism: A Study of the Local and Village Deities of Southern India," University Studies: University of Nebraska, Vol. XV, No. 1, Jan., 1915. Compare the sacrifice of the fore-leg of a living calf in Egypt—A. E. P. B. Weigall, "An Ancient Egyptian Funeral Ceremony," *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, Vol. II, 1915, p. 10. Early literary references from Babylonia suggest that a similar method of offering blood was practised there.

² William Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," 2nd edition, 1832, Vol. I, p. 373.

mastaba were taking place, possibly in Egypt itself, but certainly upon the neighbouring Mediterranean coasts. In some respects the least altered copies of the *mastaba* are found in the so-called "giant's graves" of Sardinia and the "horned cairns" of the British Isles. But the real features of the Egyptian *serdab*, which was the essential part, the nucleus so to speak, of the *mastaba*, are best preserved in the so-called "holed dolmens" of the Levant, the Caucasus, and India. [They also occur sporadically in the West, as in France and Britain.]

Such dolmens and more simplified forms are scattered in Palestine,¹ but are seen to best advantage upon the Eastern Littoral of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian. They are found only in scattered localities between the Black and Caspian Seas. As de Morgan has pointed out,² their distribution is explained by their association with ancient gold and copper mines. They were the tombs of immigrant mining colonies who had settled in these definite localities to exploit these minerals.

Now the same types of dolmens, also associated with ancient mines,³ are found in India. There is some evidence to suggest that these degraded types of Egyptian *mastabas* were introduced into India at some time after the adoption of the other, the Nubian modification of the *mastaba* which is represented by the first variety of stone circle.⁴

I have referred to these Indian dolmens for the specific purpose of illustrating the complexities of the processes of diffusion of culture. For not only have several variously specialized degradation-products of the same original type of Egyptian *mastaba* reached India, possibly by different routes and at different times, but also many of the ideas

¹ See H. Vincent, "Canaan d'après l'exploration récente," Paris, 1907, p. 395.

² "Les Premières Civilisations," Paris, 1909, p. 404: Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, Tome VIII, archéol.; and Mission Scientifique au Caucase, Tome I.

³ W. J. Perry, "The Relationship between the Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments and Ancient Mines," *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. 60, Part I, 24th Nov., 1915.

⁴ The evidence for this is being prepared for publication by Captain Leonard Munn, R.E., who has personally collected the data in Hyderabad.

that developed out of the funerary ritual in Egypt—of which the *mastaba* was merely one of the manifestations—made their way to India at various times and became secondarily blended with other expressions of the same or associated ideas there. I have already referred to the essential elements of the Egyptian funerary ritual—the statues, incense, libations, and the rest—as still persisting among the Dravidian peoples.

But in the Madras Presidency dolmens are found converted into Siva temples.¹ Now in the inner chamber of the shrine—which represents the homologue of the *serdab*—in place of the statue or bas-relief of the deceased or of the deity, which is found in some of them (see Plate I), there is the stone *linga-yoni* emblem in the position corresponding to that in which, in the later temple in the same locality (Kambaduru), there is an image of Parvati, the consort of Siva.

The earliest deities in Egypt, both Osiris and Hathor, were really expressions of the creative principle. In the case of Hathor, the goddess was, in fact, the personification of the female organs of reproduction. In these early Siva temples in India these principles of creation were given their literal interpretation, and represented frankly as the organs of reproduction of the two sexes. The gods of creation were symbolized by models in stone of the creating organs. Further illustrations of the same principle are witnessed in the Indonesian megalithic monuments which Perry calls “dissoliths”.²

The later Indian temples, both Buddhist and Hindu, were developed from these early dolmens, as Mr. Longhurst's reports so clearly demonstrate. But from time to time there was an influx of new ideas from the West which found expression in a series of modifications of the architecture. Thus India provides an admirable illustration of this principle of culture contact. A series of waves of megalithic culture introduced purely Western ideas. These were developed by the local people in their own way, constantly intermingling a variety of cultural influences to weave them into a dis-

¹ Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1915-1916. See for example Mr. A. H. Longhurst's photographs and plans (Plates I-IV) and especially that of the old Siva temple at Kambadurn, Plate IV (b).

² W. J. Perry, “The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia”.

tinctive fabric, which was compounded partly of imported, partly of local threads, woven locally into a truly Indian pattern. In this process of development one can detect the effects of Mycenaean accretions (see for example Longhurst's Plate XIII), probably modified during its indirect transmission by Phœnician and later influences ; and also the more intimate part played by Babylonian, Egyptian, and, later, Greek and Persian art and architecture in directing the course of development of Indian culture.

The ideas which grew up in association with the practice of mummification were responsible for the development of the temple and its ritual and for a definite formulation of the conception of deities. But they were also responsible for originating a priesthood. For the resuscitation of the dead king, Osiris, and for the maintenance of his existence it was necessary for his successor, the reigning king, to perform the ritual of animation and the provision of food and drink. The king, therefore, was the first priest, and his functions were not primarily acts of worship but merely the necessary preliminaries for restoring life and consciousness to the dead seer so that he could consult him and secure his advice and help.

It was only when the number of temples became so great and their ritual so complex and elaborate as to make it a physical impossibility for the king to act in this capacity in all of them and on every occasion that he was compelled to delegate some of his priestly functions to others, either members of the royal family or high officials. In course of time certain individuals devoted themselves exclusively to these duties and became professional priests ; but it is important to remember that at first it was the exclusive privilege of Horus, the reigning king, to intercede with Osiris, the dead king, on behalf of men, and that the earliest priesthood consisted of those individuals to whom he had delegated some of these duties.

In the " Migrations of Early Culture " (p. 114) I called attention to the fact that among the Aztecs water was poured upon the head of the mummy. This ritual procedure was inspired by the Egyptian idea of libations, for, according to Brasseur de Bourbourg, the pouring out of the water was accompanied by the remark " *C'est cette eau que tu as reçue en venant au monde* ".

But incense-burning and blood-offering were also practised in

America. In an interesting memoir¹ on the practice of blood-letting by piercing the ears and tongue, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall reproduces a remarkable picture from a "partly unpublished MS. of Sahagun's work preserved in Florence". "The image of the sun is held up by a man whose body is partly hidden, and two men, seated opposite to each other in the foreground, are in the act of piercing the helices or external borders of their ears." But in addition to these blood-offerings to the sun, two priests are burning incense in remarkably Egyptian-like censers, and another pair are blowing conch-shell trumpets.

But it was not merely the use of incense and libations and the identities in the wholly arbitrary attributes of the American pantheon that reveal the sources of their derivation in the Old World. When the Spaniards first visited Yucatan they found traces of a Maya baptismal rite which the natives called *zihil*, signifying "to be born again". At the ceremony also incense was burnt.²

The forehead, the face, the fingers and toes were moistened. "After they had been thus sprinkled with water, the priest arose and removed the cloths from the heads of the children, and then cut off with a stone knife a certain bead that was attached to the head from childhood."³

The same custom is found in Egypt at the present day.

In the case of the girls, their mothers "divested them of a cord which was worn during their childhood, fastened round the loins, having a small shell that hung in front ('una conchuela asida que les venia a dar encima de la parte honesta'—Landa). The removal of this signified that they could marry."⁴

This custom is found in the Soudan and East Africa at the present day.⁵ It is the prototype of the girdle of Hathor, Ishtar, Aphrodite, Kali and all the goddesses of fertility in the Old World. It is an admirable illustration of the fact that not only were the finished products, the goddesses and their fantastic repertory of attributes transmitted to the New World, but also the earliest and most primitive ingredients out of which the complexities of their traits were compounded.

¹ "A Penitential Rite of the Ancient Mexicans," *Archæological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University*, Vol. I, No. 7, 1904.

² Bancroft, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 682 and 683.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 684. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ See J. Wilfrid Jackson, *op. cit. supra.*



FIG. 6.—REPRESENTATION OF THE ANCIENT MEXICAN WORSHIP OF THE SUN

The image of the sun is held up by a man in front of his face; two men blow conch-shell trumpets; another pair burn incense; and a third pair make blood-offerings by piercing their ears—after Zelia Nuttall.

SUMMARY.

In these pages I have ranged over a very wide field of speculation, groping in the dim shadows of the early history of civilization. I have been attempting to pick up a few of the threads which ultimately became woven into the texture of human beliefs and aspirations, and to suggest that the practice of mummification was the woof around which the web of civilization was intimately intertwined.

I have already explained how closely that practice was related to the origin and development of architecture, which Professor Lethaby has called the "matrix of civilization," and how nearly the ideas that grew up in explanation and in justification of the ritual of embalming were affected by the practice of agriculture, the second great pillar of support for the edifice of civilization. It has also been shown how far-reaching was the influence exerted by the needs of the embalmer, which impelled men, probably for the first time in history, to plan and carry out great expeditions by sea and land to obtain the necessary resins and the balsams, the wood and the spices. Incidentally also in course of time the practice of mummification came to exert a profound effect upon the means for the acquisition of a knowledge of medicine and all the sciences ancillary to it.

But I have devoted chief attention to the bearing of the ideas which developed out of the practice and ritual of embalming upon the spirit of man. It gave shape and substance to the belief in a future life; it was perhaps the most important factor in the development of a definite conception of the gods: it laid the foundation of the ideas which subsequently were built up into a theory of the soul: in fact, it was intimately connected with the birth of all those ideals and aspirations which are now included in the conception of religious belief and ritual. A multitude of other trains of thought were started amidst the intellectual ferment of the formulation of the earliest concrete system of biological theory. The idea of the properties and functions of water which had previously sprung up in connexion with the development of agriculture became crystallized into a more definite form as the result of the development of mummification, and this has played an obtrusive part in religion, in philosophy and in medicine ever since. Moreover its influence has become embalmed for all time in many languages and in the ritual of every religion.

But it was a factor in the development not merely of religious beliefs, temples and ritual, but it was also very closely related to the origin of much of the paraphernalia of the gods and of current popular beliefs. The swastika and the thunderbolt, dragons and demons, totemism and the sky-world are all of them conceptions that were more or less closely connected with the matters I have been discussing.

In conclusion I should like to express in words what must be only too apparent to every reader of this statement. It claims to be nothing more than a contribution to the study of some of the most difficult problems in the history of human thought. For one so ill-equipped for a task of such a nature as I am to attempt it calls for a word of explanation. The clear light that recent research has shed upon the earliest literature in the world has done much to destroy the foundations upon which the theories propounded by scholars have been built up. It seemed to be worth while to attempt to read afresh the voluminous mass of old documents with the illumination of this new information.

The other reason for making such an attempt is that almost every modern scholar who has discussed the matters at issue has assumed that the fashionable doctrine of the independent development of human beliefs and practices was a safe basis upon which to construct his theories. At best it is an unproven and reckless speculation. I am convinced it is utterly false. Holding such views I have attempted to read the evidence afresh.

THE POETRY OF LUCRETIOUS.¹

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Dedicated to the

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Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

"Lucretius stands alone in the controversial force and energy with which the genius of negation inspires him, and transforms into sublime reasons for firm act, so long as living breath is ours, the thought that the life of a man is no more than the dream of a shadow."

—Lord Morley's "*Recollections*".

I.

THERE was a time when the title of this paper would have been received as a paradox if not as a contradiction in terms. Lessing, as is well known, declared roundly that Lucretius was "a versifier, not a poet," and Lessing was one of the greatest of European critics. It is easy, indeed, to see the reason of Lessing's trenchant condemnation. It reflects his implicit acceptance of Aristotle's *Poetics*,—which he said was for him as absolutely valid as Euclid,—and therefore of Aristotle's doctrine that poetry is imitation of human action. Lessing's insistence on this doctrine was extraordinarily salutary in his day, and definitely lowered the status of the dubious kinds known as descriptive, allegorical, satirical, and didactic poetry, in a century too much given to them all. That phrase of his about the imitation of human action marked out a correct, well-defined, and safe channel for the stream of poetry to pursue, and some of the slender poetic rills of his generation improved their chance of survival by falling into it and flowing between its banks. But Lessing did not reckon with the power of poetic genius to force its own way to the sea through no matter how tangled and

¹ An elaboration of the Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 14 February, 1917.

tortuous a river-bed,—nay, to capture from the very obstructions it over-comes new splendours of foam and rainbow unknown perhaps to the well-regulated stream. In plain language, he did not reckon with the fact that a *prima facie* inferior form, such as satire or didactic, may not only have its inferiority outweighed by compensating beauties, but may actually elicit and provoke beauties not otherwise to be had, and thus become not an obstacle, but an instrument of poetry. Nor did he foresee that such a recovery of poetic genius, such an effacement of the old boundaries, such a withdrawal of the old taboos, was to come with the following century, nay, was actually impending when he wrote. Goethe, who read the *Laokoon* entranced, as a young student at Leipzig, honoured its teaching very much on this side of idolatry when he came to maturity. As a devoted investigator of Nature, who divined the inner continuity of the flower and the leaf with the same penetrating intuition which read the continuity of a man, or of a historic city, in all the phases of their growth, Goethe was not likely to confine poetry within the bounds either of humanity or of the drums and trappings, the violence, passion, and sudden death, for which human action in poetic criticism has too commonly stood. He himself wrote a poem of noble beauty on the “Metamorphosis of Plants” (1797)—a poem which suffices to show that it is possible to be poetically right while merely unfolding the inner truth of things in perfectly adequate speech.¹ We cannot wonder, then, that Lucretius and the poem “On the Nature of Things” excited in the greatest of German poets the liveliest interest and admiration. On the score of subject alone he eagerly welcomed the great example of Lucretius. But he saw that Lucretius had supreme gifts as a poet, which would have given distinction to whatever he wrote, and which, far from being balked by the subject of his choice, found in it peculiarly large scope and play. “What sets our Lucretius so high,” he wrote (1821) to his friend v. Knebel, author of the first German translation, “what sets him so high and assures him eternal renown, is a lofty faculty of sensuous intuition, which enables him to describe with power ; in

¹ Goethe probably never heard of a less fortunate adventure in that kind by his English contemporary Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the *Loves of the Plants*, which had then been famous in England for ten years ; a poem which suffices to show that it is possible to exploit in the description of natural processes all the figures and personifications of poetry, and yet to go egregiously wrong.

addition, he disposes of a powerful imagination, which enables him to pursue what he has seen beyond the reach of sense into the invisible depths of Nature and her most mysterious recesses.”¹ But while Goethe thus led the way in endorsing without reserve the Lucretian conception of what the field of poetry might legitimately include, he contributed to the discussion nothing, so far as I know, so illuminating or so profound as the great saying of Wordsworth: “poetry is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science”. For Wordsworth here sweeps peremptorily away the boundary marks set up, for better or worse, by ancient criticism—he knows nothing of a poetry purely of man or purely of action: he finds the *differentia* of poetry not in any particular choice of subject out of the field of real things, but in the *impassioned* handling of them whence-soever drawn, and therefore including the impassioned handling of reality as such, or, in the Lucretian phrase, of *the nature of things*.

What did he mean by *impassioned*? Something more, certainly, than the enthusiasm of a writer possessed with his theme, or even of one eager, as Lucretius was, to effect by its means a glorious purgation in the clotted soul of a friend. We come nearer when we recall the profound emotion stirred in Wordsworth by “earth’s tears and mirth, her humblest mirth and tears,” or the thought, “too deep for tears,” given him by the lowliest flower of the field. Such passion as this is not easily analysed, but it implies something that we may call participation on the one side and response on the other. The poet finds himself in Nature, finds there something that answers to spiritual needs of his own. The measure of the poet’s mind will be the measure of the value of the response he receives. A small poet will people Nature with fantastic shapes which reflect nothing but his capricious fancy or his self-centred desires. That is not finding a response in Nature, but putting one into her mouth; a procedure like that of the bustling conversationalist who, instead of listening to your explanation, cuts it short with a “You mean to say”—whatever it suits him to suppose. But the poet of finer genius will neither seek nor be satisfied with such hollow response as this. If he finds himself in Nature, it will not be his shallow fancies or passing regrets that he finds, but his furthest reach, and loftiest appetency of soul. He will not properly be said to “subdue things to the mind,” as Bacon declared it to be

¹ To Knebel, 14 February, 1821.

the characteristic aim of poetry to do, instead of, like philosophy, subduing the mind to things. But he will feel after analogies to mind in the universe of things which mind contemplates and interprets.

Such an analogy, for instance, is the sense of *continuity* underlying the changing show of the material world, corresponding to the continuity of our own self-consciousness through the perpetual variations of our soul states. The doctrine of a permanent substance persisting through the multiplicity of Nature, and giving birth to all its passing modes, belongs as much to poetry as to philosophy, and owes as much to impassioned intuition as to *à priori* thought. Under the name of the "One and the Many" the problem of Change and Permanence perplexed and fascinated every department of Greek thought : it provoked the opposite extravagances of Heracleitos, who declared change to be the only form of existence, and of the Eleatics, who denied that it existed at all ; but it also inspired the ordered and symmetrical beauty of the Parthenon and the Pindaric ode. "When we feel the poetic thrill," says Santayana, "it is when we find fulness in the concise, and depth in the clear ; and that seems to express with felicitous precision the genius of Hellenic art."

A second such analogy is the discovery of *infinity*. Common sense observes measure and rule, complies with custom, and takes its ease when its day's work is done ; but we recognize a higher quality in the love that knows no measure, in the spiritual hunger and thirst which are never stilled. Therefore, at the height of our humanity, we find ourselves in the universe in proportion as it sustains and gives scope for an endlessly ranging and endlessly penetrating thought. The Stoics looked on the universe as a globe pervaded by what Munro unkindly calls a *rotund and rotatory god* ; at the circumference of which all existence, including that of space, simply stopped ; common sense revolts, but imagination is even more rudely balked, and we glory in the defiant description of Epicurus passing beyond the flaming walls of the world. Yet we are stirred with a far more potent intellectual sympathy when the idea is suggested, say by Spinoza, that space and time themselves are but particular modes of a universe which exists also in an infinite number of other ways ; or when, in the final cantos of Dante's *Paradiso*, after passing up from Earth, the centre, through the successive ever-widening spheres

that circle round it, till we reach the Empyrean, the whole perspective and structure of the universe are suddenly inverted, and we see the real centre, God, as a single point of dazzling intensity, irradiating existence "through and through". Then we realize that the space we have been laboriously traversing is only the illusive medium of our sense-existence, and without meaning for the Eternity and Infinity of divine reality.

This example has led us to the verge of another class of poetic ideas, those in which poetry discovers in the world not merely analogies of mind, but mind itself. This is the commonest, and in some of its phases the cheapest and poorest, intellectually, of all poetic ideas. It touches at one pole the naïve personation which peoples earth and air for primitive man with spirits whom he seeks by ritual and magic to propitiate or to circumvent. The brilliant and beautiful woof of myth is, if we will, poetry as well as religion; the primitive and rudimentary poetry of a primitive and rudimentary religion. Yet it points, however crudely, to the subtler kinds of response which a riper poetic insight may discover. If the glorious anthropomorphism of Olympus and Asgard has faded for ever, the mystery of life, everywhere pulsing through Nature, and perpetually reborn "in man and beast and earth and air and sea," cries to the poet in every moment of his experience with a voice which will not be put by, and the symbols from soul-life by which he seeks to convey his sense of it, if they often read human personality too definitely into the play of that elusive mystery, yet capture something in it which escapes the reasoned formulas of science, and justify the claim of poetic experience to be the source of an outlook upon the world, of a vision of life, with which, no less than with those reached through philosophy and religion, civilization has to reckon.

The poetic consciousness of soul has thus left a deep impress upon the medium of ideas through which we currently regard both Nature and Man. It has imbued with a richer significance and a livelier appeal those analogies in Nature of which I spoke; turning the sublime but bare conceptions of continuity and substance into Wordsworth's *something more deeply interfused*, or Shelley's *Love . . . through the web of Being blindly wove*; turning the abstraction of infinity into limitless aspiration, or into that "infinite passion" which Browning felt across "the pain of finite hearts that yearn".

On the other hand, in its interpretation of Man, the poetic soul-consciousness, so extraordinarily intense on the emotional and imaginative side, has lifted these aspects of soul into prominence ; illuminating and sustaining everywhere the impassioned insight which carries men outside and beyond themselves, in heroism, in prophecy, in creation, in love ; which makes the past alive for them, and the future urgent ; which lifts them to a vision of good and evil beyond that of moral codes ; to the perception that danger is the true safety, and death, as Rupert Brooke said, "safest of all" ; which in a word gives wing and scope and power to that in man which endures, as the stream endures though its water is ever gliding on, and makes us "feel that we are greater than we know".

I have tried to sketch out some of the ways in which a scientific poetry is possible without disparagement to either element in the description. Let me now proceed to apply some of these ideas to the great poet of science who is our immediate subject.

II.

In this assembly it is unnecessary to recall the little that is told, on dubious authority, of the life which began a little less than a hundred years before the Christian era, and ended when he was not much over forty, when Virgil was a very young man. All that is told of his life is the story that he went mad after receiving a love-philtre, composed the books of his great poem "On the Nature of Things" in his lucid intervals, and finally died by his own hand. It is this tradition which Tennyson with great art has worked up into his noble poem. We need not here discuss the truth either of the tradition of madness or of that of suicide. What is certain is that no poem in the world bears a more powerful impress of coherent and continuous thought. While the poets of his own time and of the next generation, though deeply interested in his poetry and in his ideas, know nothing of the tragic story which first emerges in a testimony four centuries later.

Lucretius called his poem by the bald title "Of the Nature of Things". But no single term or phrase can describe the aims which, distinct but continually playing into and through one another, compose the intense animating purpose of the book. We may say that it is at once a scientific treatise, a gospel of salvation, and an epic of

nature and man ; yet we are rarely conscious of any one of these aims to the exclusion of the rest. In none of these three aims was Lucretius wholly original. In each of them he had a great precursor among the speculative thinkers and poets of Greece. His science roughly speaking was the creation of Democritus ; his gospel of salvation was the work of Epicurus ; and the greatest example of a poem on the nature of things, before his, had been given by Empedocles, the poet-philosopher of Agrigentum whom Matthew Arnold made the mouthpiece of his grave and lofty hymn of nineteenth-century pessimism. In his own country his only predecessor in any sense was Ennius, the old national poet who had first cast the hexameter in the stubborn mould of Latin speech, to whom he pays characteristically generous homage.

The atomic system of Democritus, which explained all things in the universe as combinations of different kinds of material particles, was a magnificent contribution to physical science, and the fertility of its essential idea is still unexhausted. It touched the problems of mind and life, of ethics and art, only indirectly, in so far as it resolved mind and all its activities into functions of matter and motion. Epicurus, on the other hand, a saintly recluse, bent only upon showing the way to a life of serene and cheerful virtue, took over the doctrine of the great physicist of Abdêra, without any touch of dispassionate speculative interest, as that which promised most effectual relief from disturbing interests and cares, and especially from the disturbance generated by fear of the gods and of a life after death. He might have gone to the great Athenian idealists of the fourth century, the immortal masters not only of those who know, but of those who think and labour and create, whether in science or in poetry or in citizenship. But his aim was precisely to liberate from these distracting energies, and allure a weary generation from the forum and the workshop, even the studio of letters or of art, and the temples of the gods, into the choice seclusion of his garden—the garden of a soul at peace, fragrant with innocent and beautiful things. What Epicurus added of his own to Democritus' theory was an accommodation not to truth but to convenience ; and the measure of his scientific ardour is given by his easy toleration of conflicting explanations of the same phenomenon, provided they dispense with the intervention of the gods. While the measure of his attachment to poetry

is given by his counsel to his disciples to go past it with stopped ears, as by the siren's deadly song.

It was this scientific doctrine, adopted by Epicurus in the interest not of science but of his gospel of deliverance from the cares of superstition, that Lucretius took over with the fervour of discipleship. He was not, like Pope in the "Essay on Man," providing an elegant dress for philosophic ideas which he only half understood and abandoned in alarm when they threatened to be dangerous. He was the prophet of Epicureanism, and it is among the prophets of the faiths by which men live and die that we must seek a parallel to the passionate earnestness with which he proclaims to Memmius the saving gospel of Epicurus,—to that same Memmius who a few years later showed his piety to Epicurus' memory by destroying his house. It was the hope of pouring the light and joy of saving truth upon the mind of this rather obtuse Roman, his beloved friend, that Lucretius laboured, he tells us, through the silent watches of the night, seeking phrase and measure which might make deep and hidden things clear.¹ But Lucretius felt and thought also as a poet and in the temper of poetry. He was not *lending his pen* to a good cause, nor turning Greek science into Latin hexameters in order that they might be more vividly grasped or more readily remembered. He was conquering a new way in poetry; striking out a virgin path which no foot before his had trod. For Empedocles had had far narrower aims. And he calls on the Muses for aid with as devout a faith in his poetic mission in the great adventure as Milton had when he summoned Urania or some greater Muse to be his guide while he attempted "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme". What we admire unreservedly in him, declares a great French poet who died only the other day, Sully-Prudhomme, is the breath of independence which sweeps through the entire work of this most robust and precise of poets.

We see the temper of the poet at the outset, in the wonderful transfiguration which the gentle recluse Epicurus undergoes in the ardent brain of his Roman disciple. For it was of this enemy of disturbing emotion, this quietist of paganism, this timid and debonnaire humanitarian, that Lucretius drew the magnificent and astonishing portrait which immediately follows the prologue of the *De Rerum Natura*. The Lucretian Epicurus is a Prometheus,—the heroic

¹ l. 140 f.

Greek who first of mortals dared to defy and withstand the monstrous tyrant Religion to her face. No fabled terror could appal him, no crashing thunder, nor the anger of heaven ; these only kindled the more the eager courage of his soul, to be the first to break the bars of Nature's gates. So the living might of his soul prevailed ; and he passed beyond the flaming walls of the world and traversed in mind and spirit the immeasurable universe ; returning thence in triumph to tell us what can, and what cannot, come into being ; having trampled under foot Religion who once crushed mankind, and lifted mankind in turn by his victory up to the height of heaven.

One might well surmise that a philosophy which a poet could thus ardently proclaim was itself, after all, not without the seeds and springs of poetry ; and that Lucretius in choosing to expound it in verse was not staking everything on his power of making good radical defects of substance by telling surface decoration or brilliant digressions. He recognized, no doubt, a difference in popular appeal between his substance and his form, and in a famous and delightful passage compares himself to the physician who touches the edge of the bitter cup with honey, ensnaring credulous childhood to its own good. So, he tells Memmius, he is spreading the honey of the Muses over his difficult matter, that he may hold him by the charm of verse until the nature of things have grown clear to his sight. But Lucretius is here putting himself at the point of view of the indifferent layman, and especially of the rather obtuse layman whose interest he was with almost pathetic eagerness seeking to capture. One guesses that Memmius, like the boy, was by no means reconciled to the worm-wood because it was prefaced with honey ; and modern critics who, like Mommsen, condemn his choice of subject as a blunder, come near to adopting the resentful boy's point of view. But in the splendid lines which immediately precede, though they form part of the same apology to Memmius, the poet involuntarily betrays his own very different conception of the matter. The hope of glory, he says, has kindled in his breast the love of the Muses, "whereby inspired I am exploring a virgin soil of poetry hitherto untrodden by any foot. O the joy of approaching the unsullied springs, and quaffing them, O the joy of culling flowers unknown, whence may be woven a splendid wreath for my head, such as the Muses have arrayed no man's brows withal before ; first because I am reporting on a great theme, and

undoing the tight knot of superstition from the minds of men ; and then because I convey dark matters in such transparent verse, touching everything with the Muses' charm."¹

Here, in spite of the last words, Lucretius clearly feels that his matter is something more than the wormwood which he overlays with honey ; it is a vast region of implicit poetry which he, first of poets, is going to discover and annex ; and he rests his claim to the poetic wreath he expects to win, in the first place upon this greatness of the subject matter itself, and secondly, not as the wormwood and honey theory would suggest, on the ingenious fancy which decorates or disguises it, but on the lucid style which allows it to shine in, as through a window, upon the ignorant mind.

III.

Let us then consider from this point of view the subject of Lucretius. This subject, as he conceives it, has two aspects. On the one side it is negative ;—an annihilating criticism of all the crude religion founded upon fear,—fear of the gods, fear of death and of something after death ; criticism delivered with remorseless power and culminating in the sinewy intensity of the terrible line

‘Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum,’

which transfixes once for all the consecrated principle of *tabu* everywhere dominant in the primitive faiths, the product of man's cowardice, as magic is the product of his pride.

The other aspect is constructive ; the building up of the intellectual and moral framework of a worthy human life, by setting forth the true nature of the universe, the history of life, and the development of man ; in other words, the story of his struggle through the ages, with the obstacles opposed to him by the power of untamed nature, by wild beasts, storms, inundations, by the rivalry and antagonism of other men, and by the wild unreason in his own breast. Lucretius saw as clearly as any modern thinker that man's conduct of his life, whether in the narrow circle of domestic happiness and personal duty, or in the larger sphere of civic polity, must be based upon a comprehension of the external world and of the past through which we have grown to what we are ; and making allowance for his more limited resources and

his more confined point of view, he carried it out with magnificent power. So that if his poem remains in nominal intention a didactic treatise, in its inner substance and purport it might better be described as a colossal epic of the universe, with man for its protagonist and the spectres of the gods for its vanquished foes ; and wanting neither the heroic exultations nor the tragic dooms, neither the melancholy over what passes nor the triumph in what endures, which go to the making of the greatest poetry.

These two aspects — criticism and construction—are thus most intimately bound together in the poem, but can yet be considered apart. And to each belongs its own peculiar and distinct vein of poetry. On the whole it is the former, at first sight so much less favourable to poetic purposes, which has most enthralled posterity. For the voice of Lucretius is here a distinctive, almost a solitary voice. The poets for the most part have been the weavers of the veil of dreams and visions in whose glamour the races of mankind have walked : but here came a poet, and one of the greatest, who rent the veil asunder and bade men gaze upon the nature of things naked and unadorned. And his austere chaunt of triumph as he pierces illusion and scatters superstition, has in it something more poignant and thrilling than many a song of voluptuous ecstasy or enchanted rêverie. For after all, the passing of an old order of things and the coming of a new has always at least the interest of colossal drama, and cannot leave us unmoved, however baneful we may hold the old order to have been, however we may exult in the deliverance effected by the new. So Milton's celebration of the birth of Christ only reaches the heights of poetry when he is telling of the passing of the old pagan divinities :—

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs thro' the arched roof in words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the sleep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

The lonely mountains o'er
 And the resounding shore,
 A voice of weeping heard and loud lament ;
 From haunted spring and dale,
 Edged with poplar pale,
 The parting genius is with sighing sent ;
 With flower-inwoven tresses torn
 The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thicket mourn.

Through the Christian's exultation there sounds, less consciously perhaps, but more clear, the Humanist scholar's sense of tragedy and pathos. In *Hyperion*, even more, we are made to feel the pathos of the passing of the fallen divinity of Saturn and his host ; and Hyperion himself, the sun-god of the old order of physical light, is more magnificently presented than Apollo, the sun-god of the new order of radiant intelligence and song. Lucretius, as we shall see, brings back the old divinity in a sublime way of his own ; but he feels the beneficence of the new order of scientific vision and inviolable law too profoundly to have any sense of pathos at the passing of the reign of superstition and caprice. He is rather possessed with flaming wrath as he recalls the towering evils of which that old regime had been guilty : the wrath of a prophet, more truly divine in spirit than the divinities he assailed, as Prometheus is more divine than Zeus. Again and again we are reminded, as we read his great invectives, not of the sceptics mocking all gods indiscriminately in the name of enlightened good sense, but of a Hebrew prophet, chastising those who sacrifice to the gods of the Gentiles, in the name of the God of righteousness who refuses to be worshipped with offerings of blood. There is surely a spirit not far remote from this in the indignant pity with which he tells, in a famous and splendid passage, the sacrifice of Iphigenia at the divine bidding, as the price of the liberation of the Grecian fleet on its way to Troy.

How often has fear of the gods begotten impious and criminal acts ! What else was it that led the chieftains of Greece, foremost of men, foully to stain the altar of Artemis with the blood of the maiden Iphigenia ? Soon as the victim's band was bound about her virgin locks, and she saw her father grief-stricken before the altar, and at his side the priests concealing the knife, and the onlookers shedding tears at the sight, dumb with fear she sank on her knees to the ground. And it availed her nothing at that hour that she had been the first to call the king by the name of father ; for she was caught up by the hands of men, and borne trembling to the altar ; not to

have a glad wedding hymn sung before her when these sacred rites were over, but to be piteously struck down, a victim, stained with her own stainless blood, by the hand of a father in the very flower of her bridal years; and all in order to procure a happy deliverance might be granted to the captive fleet. So huge a mass of evils has fear of the gods brought forth! [i. 84-101].

Thus the crucial proof of the badness of the old religions is derived from the hideous violence done in their name to the natural and beautiful pieties of the family.

Yet, with all his fierce aversion for this baneful fear, Lucretius feels profoundly how natural it is. His intense imagination enters into the inmost recesses of the human heart, and runs counter, as it were, to the argument of his powerful reason; riveting upon our senses with almost intolerable force the beliefs which he is himself seeking to dispel; so that though there is no trace of doubt or obscurity in his own mind, his words need only to be set in a different context to become a plea for that which he is using them to refute. Thus his very derision of the Stoic doctrine of an all-pervading God is conveyed in language of what one is again prompted to call Hebraic magnificence, "What power can rule the immeasurable All, or hold the reins of the great deep? who can revolve the heavens and warm the earth with ethereal fires? who can be everywhere present, making dark the sky and thrilling it with clashing sound . . . ? [v. 1234 f.]" Do we not seem to listen to an echo of the ironical questions of the Jahveh of the Book of Job?

There he feels only scorn for the believer, in spite of his involuntary imaginative hold upon the belief. But in another passage we see the poet himself shudder with the fear that his logic is in the act of plucking up by the roots:

When we gaze upward at the great vault of heaven, and the empyrean inlaid with shining stars, and consider the paths of sun and moon, then the dread will start into life within us lest haply it be the immeasurable might of gods which moves the blazing stars along their diverse ways. For the poverty of our reason tempts us to wonder whether the world was not once begotten, and whether it be destined to perish when its ceaseless movements have worn it out, or endowed with immortal life glide on perpetually, defying all the might of time. And then what man is there whose heart does not shrink with terror of the gods, whose limbs do not creep

with fear, when the parched earth trembles at the lightning stroke, and the roar of thunder rolls through the sky! Do not the peoples shudder, and haughty kings quake with fear, lest for some foul deed or arrogant speech a dire penalty has been incurred and the hour be come when it must be paid? For when the might of the hurricane sweeps the commander of a fleet before it along the seas, with all his force of legions and elephants, does he not approach the gods with prayers for their favour and helping winds; and all in vain, for often enough none the less he is caught in the whirlpool and flung into the jaws of death? So utterly does some hidden power seem to consume the works of man, and to trample and deride all the symbols of his glory and his wrath [v. 1194 f.].

But beyond the fear of what the gods may do to us on earth, lay another more insidious and ineluctable fear,—the dread of what may befall us after death. It was a main part of Lucretius's purpose to meet this by showing that death meant dissolution, and dissolution unconsciousness; but men continued to dread, and this is the reasoning, equally inconclusive and brilliant, with which he confronts them :—

Therefore since death annihilates, and bars out from being altogether him whom evils might befall, it is plain that in death there is nothing for us to fear, and that a man cannot be unhappy who does not exist at all, and that it matters not a jot whether a man has been born, when death the deathless has swallowed up life that dies.

Therefore, when you see a man bewail himself that after death his body will rot, or perish in flames or in the jaws of beasts, his profession clearly does not ring true, and there lurks a secret sting in his heart, for all his denial that he believes there is any feeling in the dead. For, I take it, he does not fulfil his promise, nor follow out his principle, and sever himself out and out from life, but unconsciously makes something of himself survive. For when as a living man he imagines his future fate, and sees himself devoured by birds and beasts, he pities himself; for he does not distinguish between himself and the others, nor sever himself from the imagined body, but imagines himself to be it, and impregnates it with his own feeling. Hence he is indignant that he has been created mortal, nor sees that there will not in reality be after death another self, to grieve as a living being that he is dead, and feel pangs as he stands by, that he himself is lying there being mangled or consumed.

Then he supposes the dying man's friends to condole with him :—

Now no more thy glad home shall welcome thee, nor a beloved wife, nor sweet children run to snatch kisses, touching thy heart with secret delight. No more wilt thou be prosperous in thy doings, no

more be a shelter to thy dear ones. A single, cruel day has taken from thee, hapless man, all the need of life. So they tell you, but they forget to add that neither for any one of these things wilt thou any longer feel desire [III. 863].

IV.

So much then for the first aspect of Lucretius's poem,—the criticism of the old religions. Most of the recognized and famous "poetry" of the book is connected, like the passages I have quoted, with this negative side of his creed. But I am more concerned to show that a different and not less noble vein of poetry was rooted in the rich positive appetencies of his nature ; in his acute and exquisite senses ; in the vast and sublime ideas which underlay his doctrine of the world ; in his intense apprehension of the zest of life ; and, on the other hand, penetrating, like an invisible but potent spirit the texture of his reasoned unconcern, his profound, unconfessed sense of the pathos of death, his melancholy in the presence of the doom of universal dissolution which he foresaw for the world and for mankind.

Let us look first at the main constructive idea ; the atomic theory of Democritus, taken over by Epicurus and expounded by Lucretius.

For this theory was in effect, and probably in intention, a device for overcoming that antithesis of the One and the Many, of Permanence and Change, of which I have spoken. The Eleatics had declared that pure Being was alone real, and denied Change and Motion ; Heracleitus declared that nothing was real but Change, and the only perpetuity "flux". His rival Democritus showed that it was possible to hold, in the phrase of Browning's philosophic Don Juan, that there is in "all things change, and permanence as well," by supposing that shifting and unstable world of the senses, where all things die and are born, to be composed of uncreated and indestructible elements. Underlying the ceaseless fluctuations of Nature, and life as we see them, lay a continuity of eternal substance, of which they were the passing modes ;—one of the greatest of philosophical conceptions, Mr. Santayana has called it, but one also appealing profoundly to the specifically poetic intuition which I have described. Whether the permanent apprehended through the flux of sense be a spiritual substance like Plato's ideas, or Shelley's "white radiance of eternity," or whether it be the constant form and function of the flowing river, as in Wordsworth's Duddon sonnet ; or whether, as here, it be a background

of material particles perpetually combining and resolved, we have the kind of intuition which gives the thrill of poetry ; we discover “ sweep in the concise, and depth in the clear,” infinite perspectives open out in the moment and in the point, and however remote the temper of Spinozan mysticism may be, we yet in some sort see things “ in the light of eternity ”.

In Lucretius this conception found a mind capable of being ravished by its imaginative grandeur, as well as of pursuing it indefatigably through the thorniest mazes of mechanical proof. The contagious fervour which breathes through his poem is no mere ardour of the disciple bent on winning converts, or the joy of the literary craftsman as his hexameters leap forth glowing on the anvil ; it is the sacred passion of one who has had a sublime vision of life and nature, and who bears about the radiance of it into all the work to which he has set his hand. It is not because of anything that Lucretius adds to Epicurus—in theory he really adds nothing at all—that the impression produced by his poem differs so greatly from that of all we know—in fragments and at second hand, it is true—of Epicurus’s own writings. The ultimate principles are the same, but the accent is laid at a different point. The parochial timidities of Epicurus have left their traces on the Roman’s page, but they appear as hardly more than rudimentary survivals among the native inspirations of a man of heroic mettle and valour, Roman tenacity, and native sweep of mind. He cannot quite break free from some speculative foibles which show the Master’s shallow opportunism at its worst,—such as the dictum that the sun is about as large as it looks, a lamp hung a little above the earth, and daily lighted and put out ; but he becomes himself when he lets his imagination soar into the infinities of time and space which his faith opens out or leaves room for. It is a triumph of poetry as well as of common sense when he scoffs at the Stoic dogma of a Space which abruptly comes to an end ; when he stations an archer at the barrier and ironically bids him shoot his arrow into the nothingness beyond. Or in more sombre mood, how grave an intensity he puts into a common thought, like that of the end of life, by the sublimely terrible epithet *immortal* which he applies to death :—

Mortalem vitam Mors cum immortalis ademit [III. 869].

or into a mere reminder that birth and death are always with us, by

making us feel the endless concomitant succession through the ages of funeral wailings, and the cry of the new-born child [II. 578]. He accepts without question the swerving of the atoms, devised by Epicurus—child and man of genius at once—to refute the Stoic dogma of necessity ; but what possesses his mind and imagination is not these intrusions of caprice but the great continuities and uniformities of existence, which follow from the perpetual dissolution and remaking of life. “ Rains die, when father ether has tumbled them into the lap of mother earth ; but then goodly crops spring up and trees laden with fruit ; and by them we and the beasts are fed, and joyous cities teem with children and the woods ring with the song of young birds ” [I. 250 f.].

Only, as such passages show, Lucretius grasps these uniformities and continuities not as theoretic abstractions, but as underlying conditions of the teeming multiplicity and joyous profusion of living Nature. His senses, imagination, and philosophic intellect, all phenomenally acute and alert, wrought intimately together ; and he enters into and exposes the life of the individual thing with an intensity of insight and a realistic precision and power which quicken us with its warm pulse, and burn its image upon our brain, without ever relaxing our consciousness that it is part of an endless process, and the incidental expression of an unalterable law. For him, indeed, as for Dante, individuality is an intrinsic part of law, and law of individuality. Every being has its place and function, its “ deep fixed boundaries ” (*terminus alte haerens*). The very stone, for Dante, cleaves to the spot where it lies. And the Roman as well as the philosopher in Lucretius scornfully contrasts with this Nature of minute and ubiquitous law the fluid and chaotic world of myth, where anything might become anything [cf. v. 126 f.].

V.

None the less, his conception of the nature of the process itself does insensibly undergo a change. In the mind of an exponent so richly endowed and so transparently sincere, the hidden flaw in his system could not but at some point disturb its imposing coherence. Atomism could not at bottom explain life, and life poured with too abounding a tide through the heart and brain of Lucretius not to sap in some degree the authority of his mechanical calculus, and to lend a surreptitious

persuasiveness to inconsistent analogies derived from the animated soul. Without ostensibly disturbing the integrity of his Epicurean creed, such analogies have, in two ways, infused an alien colour into his poetry and alien implications into his thought. In the first place, he feels, as such abounding natures will, that life—"the mere living"—is somehow very good, in spite of all the evils it brings in its train, and death pathetic in spite of all the evils from which it sets us free. When he is demonstrating that the world cannot have been made by gods, he set forth its grave inherent flaws of structure and arrangement with merciless trenchancy—*tantâ stat prædita culpâ* [v. 199] ; and like Lear, he makes the new-born child wail because he is come into a world where so many griefs await him. And no one ever urged with more passionate eloquence that it is unreasonable to fear to die. None the less, phrases charged with a different feeling about life continually escape him. He speaks of the *præclara mundi natura* [v. 157]. To begin to live is to "rise up into the divine borders of light" [i. 20]. And secondly, despite his philosophical assurance, incessantly repeated, that birth and death are merely different aspects of the same continuous mechanical process, and that nothing receives life except by the death of something else, "*Alid ex alio reficit natura, nec ullam Rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adiuta aliena*" [i. 264, etc.], he cannot suppress suggestions that the creative energy of the world is akin to that which with conscious desire and will bring forth the successive generations of Man. And so, in the astonishing and magnificent opening address, the poet who was about to demonstrate that the gods lived eternally remote from the life of men, calls upon Venus, the legendary mother of his own race, as the divine power ever at work in this teeming universe, the giver of increase, bringing all things to birth, from the simplest corn blade to the might and glory of the Roman Empire :

Mother of the Roman race, delight of gods and men, benign Venus, who under the gliding constellations of heaven fillest with thy presence the sea with its ships and the earth with its fruits, seeing that by thy power all the races of living things are conceived and come to being in the light of day, before thee O goddess the winds take flight, and the clouds of heaven at thy coming, at thy feet the brown earth sheds her flowers of a thousand hues, before thee the sea breaks into rippling laughter, and the untroubled sky glows with radiant light [i. 1 f.].

So grave and impassioned an appeal cannot be treated as mere

rhetorical ornament. If we call it figure, it is figure of the kind which is not a "poetical" substitute for prose, but conveys something for which no other terms are adequate. Lucretius, the exponent of Epicurus, doubtless intended no heresy against the Epicurean theology; but Lucretius, the poet, was carried by his vehement imagination to an apprehension of the creative energies of the world so intense and acute that the great symbol of Venus rendered it with more veracity than all that calculus of atomic movements which he was about to expound, and by which his logical intellect with perfect sincerity believed it to be adequately explained.

Far less astonishing than his bold rehabilitation of the goddess of Love is his fetishistic feeling for the Earth, the legendary mother of men. For him too, as for primeval myth, she is the "universal mother," who in her fresh youth brought forth flower and tree, and bird and beast; from whose body sprang finally the race of man itself; nay, he tells us how the infants crept forth, "from wombs rooted in the soil," and how, wherever this happened, earth yielded naturally through her pores a liquor most like to milk, "even as nowadays every woman when she has given birth is filled with sweet milk, because all that current of nutriment streams towards the breast" [v. 788 f.].

It is true that elsewhere Lucretius speaks with rationalistic condescension of the usage which calls the Earth a mother and divine, as a phrase like Bacchus for wine or Ceres for corn, permissible so long as no superstitious fear is annexed to it [ii. 652 f.]. But it is plain that the Earth's motherhood had a grip upon his poet's imagination quite other than could be exerted by any such tag of poetic diction. Doubtless the fervour with which he insists on it—"Therefore again and again Earth is rightly called Mother seeing that she brought forth the race of men and every beast and bird in its due season,"—is not wholly due to poetic motives. He is eager to refute the Stoic doctrine that men were sprung from heaven. But the poet in him is, all the same, entranced by the sublimity of the conception he is urging, and he describes it with an afflatus which dwarfs that Stoic doctrine, and makes the splendid legend of Cybele the Earth Mother, elaborated by the Greek poets, seem puerile with all its beauty. "In the beginning Earth hath in herself the elements whence watersprings pouring forth their coolness perpetually renew the bound-

less Sea, and whence fires arise, making the ground in many places hot, and belching forth the surpassing flames of Ætna. Then she bears shining corn and glad woodlands for the support of men, and rivers and leaves and shining pastures for the beasts that haunt the hills. Wherefore she is called the mother of the gods and mother of beasts and men." [II. 589 f.].

This all-creating Earth is far enough no doubt from the benign Nature of Wordsworth, who moulds her children by silent sympathy. But it is not so remote from the Earth of Meredith, the Mother who brings Man "her great venture" forth, bears him on her breast and nourishes him there, but "more than that embrace, that nourishment, she cannot give".

He may entreat, aspire,
He may despair, and she has never heed.
She drinking his warm sweat will soothe his need,
Not his desire.

Meredith too sees man, in dread of her, clutching at invisible powers, as Lucretius's sea-captain in the storm makes vows to the gods. And Meredith's thought that man rises by "spelling at" her laws is no less Lucretian. But Meredith's story of Earth is full of hope, like his story of man. It is perpetual advance. With Lucretius it is otherwise.

For the Earth is not only our Mother; she is our tomb [II. 1148 f.]. And the eternal energy of creation is not only matched by the eternal energy of dissolution, but here and now is actually yielding ground to it. The Earth, so prolific in her joyous youth, is now like a woman who has ceased to bear, "worn out by length of days" [v. 820 f.]. In the whole universe birth and death absolutely balance, the equation of mechanical values is never infringed; the universe has no history, only a continuous substitution of terms. But each living thing has a history, it knows the exultation of onset and the melancholy of decline; and its fear of death is not cancelled by the knowledge that in that very moment and in consequence of that very fact, some other living thing will be born. And thus Lucretius, feeling for our Earth as a being very near to us, and with which the issues of our existence are involved, applies the doctrine to her without shrinking indeed, but not without a human shudder. The Earth had a beginning, and ineluctable reason forces us to conclude that she will have an end, and that not by a gradual evanescence or dispersion, but by a sudden, terrific catastrophe, as in a great earthquake, or world conflagration [v. 95 f.].

And he feels this abrupt extinction of the Earth and its inhabitants to be tragic, notwithstanding that extinction is, by his doctrine, only the condition of creation, and that at the very moment of her ruin, some other earth will be celebrating its glorious birth. Earth has for him a life-history, a biography, and he forgets that she is strictly but a point at which the eternal drift of atoms thickened for a time to a cluster, to be dispersed again. Thus we see how this mechanical system, ardently embraced by a poet, working freely upon him, and itself coloured and transformed by his mind, stirred in him two seemingly opposed kinds of poetic emotion at once :—the sublime sense of eternal existence, and the tragic pathos of sudden doom and inexorable passing away.

Hence the *melancholy* that in Lucretius goes along with an enormous sense of life. To say that he puts the "Nevermore" of romantic sentimentality in the place of that dispassionate "give and take" of mechanics would do wrong to the immense virility which animates every line of this athlete among poets. Of the cheap melancholy of discontent he knows as little as of the cheap satisfaction of complacency, or of that literary melancholy, where the sigh of Horace, or Ronsard, or Herrick, over the passing of roses and all other beautiful things covers a sly diplomatic appeal to the human rosebud to be gathered while still there is time. No, the melancholy of Lucretius is like that of Dürer's "Melancholia," the sadness of strong intellect and far-reaching vision as it contemplates the setting of the sun of time and the ebbing of the tides of mortality ; or like Wordsworth's mournful music of dissolution, only to be heard by an ear emancipated from vulgar joys and fears ; or like the melancholy of Keats,—the veiled goddess who hath her shrine in the very temple of delight,—the *amari aliquid*, in Lucretius's own yet more pregnant words, which lurks in the very sweetness of the flower.

Thus our "scientific poet" appears in an extraordinary if not unique way to have united the functions and temper and achievement of science and poetry. He "knew the causes of things," and could set them forth with marvellous precision and resource ; and the knowledge filled him with lofty joy as of one standing secure above the welter of doubt and fear in which the mass of men pass their lives. To have reached this serene pinnacle of intellectual security seemed to his greatest follower Virgil a happiness beyond the reach of his

own more tender and devout genius, and he commemorated it in splendid verses which Matthew Arnold in our own day applied to Goethe :—

And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow
Of terror and insane distress
And headlong fate, be happiness.

There is, it may be, something that repels us, something slightly inhuman, in this kind of lonely happiness, and Lucretius does little to counteract that impression when he himself compares it, in another famous passage, to the satisfaction of one who watches the struggle of a storm-tost ship from the safe vantage-ground of the shore. Yet Lucretius is far from being the lonely egoist that such a passage might suggest ; his poem itself was meant as a helping hand to lift mankind to his own security : he knew what devoted friendship was, and we have pleasant glimpses of him wandering with companions among the mountains,¹ or sharing a rustic meal stretched at ease on the grass by a running brook.² Lucretius like his master had no social philosophy, and it is his greatest deficiency as a thinker ; but he was not poor in social feeling. His heart went out to men, as a physician, not coldly diagnosing their disease, but eager to cure them.

And so his feeling for Nature, for the universe of things, though rooted in his scientific apprehension, is not bounded by it. He seizes upon the sublime conceptions which his science brought to his view,—the permanent substance amid perennial change, the infinity of space and time,—and his vivid mind turns these abstractions into the radiant vision of a universe to which the heaven of heavens, as the old poets had conceived it, “was but a veil”. But he went further, and shadowed forth, if half-consciously and in spite of himself, the yet greater poetic thought, of a living power pervading the whole, drawing the elements of being together by the might of an all-permeating Love. And thus Lucretius, the culminating expression of the scientific thinking of Democritus and of the gospel of Epicurus, foreshadows Virgil, whom he so deeply influenced, and prophesies faintly but perceptibly of Dante and of Shelley ; as his annihilating exposure of the religions founded upon fear insensibly prepared the way for the religions of hope and love.

¹ IV. 575.

² II. 29.

THE QUINTESSENCE OF PAULINISM.¹

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WHEN we speak of Paulinism we imply, first that Paul had a theology, and secondly that this theology was so distinctive that we are justified in using a specific name for it. Both contentions are exposed to criticism. Some would deem it a grave injustice to describe Paul as a theologian. He was rather a prophet, or even a poet, who felt deeply and had a keen insight into religious experience but was careless of logical consistency and indifferent to the creation of a system. Now it is true that Paul was gifted with the mystic's vision, and that in moments of ecstasy his utterance glows with a lyrical rapture. But it is part of his greatness that his thought is set on fire by noble emotion, and that emotion is redeemed from vagueness and incoherence by thought. Indeed the belief that Paul was a seer but no thinker, could hardly survive a careful study even of one of his more characteristic writings. But, it may be retorted, Paul was in a sense a thinker, the sense in which a debater must be a thinker. In other words he is master of the argumentative style, and shows great skill in marshalling objections to the position of his opponents. He is a pleader rather than a philosopher. For my own part I believe that this is a profound mistake. Paul was not a mere controversialist who took the arguments that might be convenient for disposing of one antagonist without reference to their consistency with those he had used against another. Behind his occasional utterances there lies a closely knit and carefully constructed system of thought. He moves in his attack with such speed and confidence because he is in possession of a standard to which he relates each new

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 11 October, 1916.

issue as it confronts him. No series of hastily extemporized defences could have produced the same impression of unity and consistency unless they had belonged to a system. But in saying this I desire to disengage the word "system" from any unfortunate association. It would be a serious misapprehension were we to think of Paulinism as representing for its author a complete and exact reflection of the whole realm of religious reality. He was indeed so convinced of the truth of his Gospel that he did not shrink from hurling an anathema at any, though it might be an angel from heaven, who should dare to contradict it. But his certainty as to the truth of his central doctrine did not blind him to the imperfection of his knowledge, or quench the sense of mystery with which he confronted the ultimate realities. He was conscious that beyond all the regions which he had explored and charted there stretched an illimitable realm, the knowledge of which was not disclosed in time but was reserved for eternity. Here he could prophesy only in part, because he was aware that he knew only in part; and though he soared, free and daring, in the rare atmosphere of speculative thought, he veiled his face in the presence of the ultimate mysteries. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out."

Paul, then, believed himself to be in possession of a system of interdependent facts and ideas, arranged in due proportion and controlled from a centre. His epistles do not present us with a number of detached and independent ideas, still less with fluid opinions, fluctuating in response to changing conditions. He who builds on the Pauline theology, be that foundation false or true, ample or inadequate, is building on firm granite, not on sinking and shifting sand. But some will challenge our right to use the term "Paulinism". It is, of course, true, they would say, that Paul had a coherent, self-consistent, and true system of thought. But this was just the same body of revealed truth as is present everywhere, explicitly or implicitly, in the New Testament, or even in the whole of Scripture. The traditional attitude to the Bible is that it everywhere says substantially the same thing on matters of doctrine, and that differences of expression involve no material disagreement. Now it may be argued, and with some measure of success, that beneath the various types of theology we find in the New Testament there is a fundamental

harmony. But the science of Biblical Theology has demonstrated that these various types exist. It is accordingly our duty to study and estimate each of them for itself before we try to work behind them to a more fundamental unity. There is no type more distinctive, there is none so fully worked out as Paulinism.

The term "Paulinism" might, of course, be used to cover the whole range of Paul's teaching ; but I am concerned specially with those elements in it which were Paul's peculiar contribution to the interpretation of the Gospel. That contribution had its source, I believe, in the experience through which Paul passed. But he owed much to other influences. These affected, however, the distinctive elements of his teaching much less than those which he shared with his fellow-Christians. On this part of the subject I will dwell briefly, since it is rather my purpose to disengage from Paul's teaching as a whole that which is most characteristically his own. Of the external influences which originated or fashioned his doctrines I think we should attribute more to Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian theology than to Gentile philosophy or religious mysteries. It was inevitable that he should be profoundly impressed by the Old Testament. Apart from it, indeed, his theology could not have come into existence. It is the basis on which it rests, it largely supplied the moulds in which it was cast, and the substance as well as the form of much in the teaching itself. He presupposes the Old Testament, and regards his own doctrine as in continuity with it. When he became a Christian, he did not abandon the religion of Israel, but he saw in the Gospel the fulfilment and expansion of it. Yet it is a mistake to over-emphasize the Old Testament factor in the origin or formulation of Paulinism. Indeed that theology in one of its leading features is, from the Old Testament standpoint, a startling paradox. The estimate of the Law in the Old Testament is strangely different from that given by Paul. The Law inspires the Old Testament saints with a passionate devotion, as we may see from the glowing panegyric in the latter part of the nineteenth psalm, or the prolix enthusiasm of the hundred and nineteenth psalm. The ideal of the righteous man is the student whose delight is in the law of the Lord and who meditates upon it day and night. It is the safeguard and guide of youth, the stay of manhood, the comfort of age. It commanded more than sober approval or quiet acceptance ; it drew to itself a passionate loyalty,

an enthusiastic love, which nerved martyrs to face the most exquisite torture for its sake. But how different it is with Paul, who had himself in his earlier days experienced the same fervour as his countrymen, and indeed surpassed them in his zeal for it. It is true that even as a Christian he admits the sanctity and righteousness of the Law and the excellence of its purpose. He recognizes in his philosophy of history a Divinely appointed function for it. But for him the Law is no fount of refreshment and joy, it is a yoke and a burden, from which the Christian rejoices to be set free. It brings with it not a blessing but a curse. It is the instrument of sin, from which indeed that fatal tyrant draws its strength. It breaks up the old life of innocence by creating the consciousness of sin ; it stimulates antagonism by its prohibitions, which suggest the lines of opposition along which the rebellious flesh may express its hostility. It was interpolated between God's gracious promise and its glorious fulfilment, that by its harsh and servile discipline men might be educated for freedom. So foreign, indeed, is the attitude of Paul to that of the Old Testament and Judaism, that one can easily understand how some Jewish scholars feel it hard to admit that anyone who had known Judaism from the inside could ever have written the criticism of the Law, which we find in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. I believe that this is not so difficult if the problem is approached from the right starting-point ; but it emphasizes the revolutionary character of the Pauline doctrine. Similarly I regard it as a serious error to interpret Paul's conception of the flesh by that which we find in the Old Testament. In the latter case it stands for human nature as a whole, the weak and perishable creature in contrast to the mighty immortals. The contrast gains occasionally a moral significance, but this is wholly subordinate. In Paul, however, instead of a metaphysical we have an ethical contrast. The flesh is not the synonym for man in his creaturely infirmity, whose moral lapses are indulgently excused by God as simply what must be expected from a being so frail and evanescent. It stands for one side only of human nature, that is the lower. It is evil through and through. It is so irretrievably the slave and instrument of sin, it is entrenched in such deep and abiding hostility to God and His will, that no redemption or even improvement of it is possible, it must be put to death on the cross of Christ. To reduce Paul's doctrine to the Old Testament level is

to miss its tragic intensity and eviscerate it of its bitter moral significance.

If from the Old Testament we turn to the contemporary Judaism, there also we are constrained to admit a measure of influence on the apostle's thought. He had been a Pharisee, trained by Gamaliel. Naturally he did not break completely with the past when he became a Christian. He brought over current Jewish ideas and modes of argument. His Rabbinical interpretation of Scripture has been long familiar, but it is only within recent years that a fuller acquaintance with Jewish literature has revealed more fully the affinities he has with contemporary Jewish thought. Few things in the Epistles have been more richly illustrated from this source than his doctrine of angels and demons, which now stands before us in quite a new light. But I am less disposed than some scholars to rate the influence of contemporary Judaism high, at least so far as Paul's central doctrines are concerned. We have all too slender a knowledge of Judaism in Paul's day. The literary sources for the study of Rabbinic theology are considerably later, and the question arises how far we may use them for the reconstruction of a considerably earlier stage of thought. It may be plausibly argued that we can confidently explain coincidences with Paulinism much more readily on the assumption that Paul was the debtor. It is unlikely that the Rabbis consciously adopted Christian ideas. But this by no means settles the question. The amazingly rapid spread of Christianity quickly created a Christian atmosphere, in which it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Judaism itself experienced some modification. We know that there was considerable controversy between Jews and Christians. And we may well believe that its inevitable result would be that where Christians fastened on the weak points of Judaism and demonstrated the superiority of the Christian view, the Jew would be naturally tempted to change his ground and persuade himself that really these views were his own. It is also possible that we have commonly overestimated the hostility between the adherents of the two religions, and unduly underrated the extent to which friendly relations existed in the early period. In this way Christian influence may have filtered into contemporary Judaism. We have, however, a number of Jewish Apocalypses, earlier than Paul or roughly contemporary with him. These, it must be remembered, represent a peculiar tendency ; how

far Paul stood under its influence we hardly know. But where we find coincidences, Paul's indebtedness can hardly be denied. In determining the extent to which we can rely on later Rabbinical documents in reconstructing the Judaism of the first century, it must not be forgotten that the appalling catastrophes, which overwhelmed the Jewish race in the first and second centuries of our era, must have changed the conditions profoundly in the theological as well as the political world. The Judaism of the later centuries was hardly identical with the Judaism in which Paul was trained.

At present it is fashionable to make much of Greek influence on Paul. Not so long ago one of the most eminent exponents of Paulinism explained it as a mixture of Rabbinical and Alexandrian Judaism, in which the incongruous elements were so badly blended that the theology contradicted itself on fundamental principles. Radical contradictions in the system of such a thinker as Paul are antecedently improbable and to be admitted only on cogent evidence. This verdict rests on no assumption as to Paul's inspiration, it is simply a tribute due to a thinker of the highest eminence. Alexandrian Judaism contained a large element of Greek philosophy. Nowadays it is specially in Stoicism and the Greek mysteries that the source of much in the Pauline theology is discovered. The presence of Greek elements would not be in any way surprising. Paul was born and bred in a famous University city; he mixed freely with Greeks, converted and unconverted, in his evangelistic work. It would not have been astonishing that one who became a Greek to the Greeks should have incorporated in his theology ideas derived from Greek philosophy. I am by no means concerned to deny points of contact, but I believe that it is here as with Jewish theology that these are to be found not so much in the centre as in the outlying regions of his theology. I may quote on this point the pronouncement of Harnack whose judgment is exceptionally weighty. He says, with reference to Paul: "Criticism, which is to-day more than ever inclined to make him into a Hellenist (so e.g. Reitzenstein), would do well to gain at the outset a more accurate knowledge of the Jew and the Christian Paul before it estimates the secondary elements which he took over from the Greek Mysteries. It would then see at once that these elements could have obtruded themselves on him only as uninvited guests, and that a deliberate acceptance is out of the question." I will illustrate this

point from a notable instance in the last century. I choose this because it concerns the right interpretation of a crucial element in Paulinism. I have already explained why I cannot accept the view that Paul's doctrine of the flesh is to be interpreted through the Old Testament. Several scholars derived it from Greek philosophy, and among them the name of Holsten deserves special mention. He discovered in Paul's doctrine the Greek contrast between matter and spirit. The flesh he identified with the body, explaining that when the body was spoken of as "flesh" the emphasis was on the material of which it was composed, and when the flesh was spoken of as "body" the stress lay on the form into which it was organized. It is very dubious if this interpretation can be successfully sustained in detailed exegesis. But, apart from that, there are more general difficulties which appear to me to be insuperable. In the first place Paul's language varies very significantly when he is speaking of the flesh and when he is speaking of the body. The flesh is so thoroughly vicious and so utterly hostile to God that Christianity does not redeem but crucifies it. But while the flesh is crucified, the body of the Christian is the temple of the Holy Ghost and destined to share in the spirit's immortality. Further, when Paul enumerates the works of the flesh he includes sins which are not physical, especially sins of temper. Again, his doctrine would surely have taken a very different turn if he had regarded the body as the seat of sin. The way of salvation would have lain through asceticism, a starving and a crushing of the body under the rule of the spirit. And I am not sure that a rigorous logic would not go still further. If the body is the seat of sin then death is the means of redemption. And this would have had a two-fold consequence, that while men were in the body they could not be free from sin, and on the other hand, that complete redemption might be at once secured by suicide. Now Paul drew neither of these conclusions; on the contrary it was a commonplace in his theology that while a man was in the body he might have ceased to be in the flesh. On these grounds I am compelled to reject the view that for Paul the flesh and the body were identical, and that his doctrine of the flesh embodies the antithesis of matter and spirit borrowed from Greek philosophy. And finally, as indicating how improbable it is that Paul should have derived his fundamental doctrines in general, and this in particular, from Greek philosophy, we have his whole treat-

ment of the question of the resurrection. In discussing it he treats the resurrection of the body and the extinction of being as if they were the only two alternatives, and does not take into account the third possibility of the immortality of the disembodied spirit. The importance of this fact will be more clearly seen, when we remember that the Greek doctrine of immortality was closely connected with that view of matter as evil, and the antithesis of body and spirit which Paul is supposed to have derived from Greek philosophy. If he borrowed the one why should he be so unconscious of the other ?

I pass on to the question of the relation of Paulinism to the teaching of Jesus. The view that Paul owed little to the teaching of Jesus was more fashionable at one time than it is to-day, though it still finds advocates. We are told that the apostle had but little interest in the earthly life of Jesus. His attention was concentrated on the Pre-existence, the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Session at God's right hand. His thought and emotion were concentrated on these great theological facts ; to the details of His earthly career and to His teaching He was almost entirely indifferent. Although the remarkable silence of the Pauline Epistles on the life and teaching of Jesus renders such a view plausible, I cannot believe that it will bear searching scrutiny. The extent of the silence may be exaggerated. Paul appeals to the sayings of Jesus as finally settling certain questions of conduct. His knowledge of the facts of Christ's career and the details of His teaching was probably more extensive than has often been admitted ; and his attachment to His person, the depth of His gratitude to Him, were too profound for such indifference to be at all natural. I do not institute any detailed comparison between the utterances of Jesus and the epistles of His apostle, but I remind you of the situation in which Paul was placed. There is unquestionably a change in the centre of gravity. Paul's emphasis is thrown much more fully on the great facts of redemption, the Death and the Resurrection. This indeed is not unnatural. Jesus was naturally reticent as to the theological significance of facts, the possibility of which His disciples were unwilling to contemplate. And the Cross itself inevitably put the teaching into a secondary place. The deed of Jesus was mightier than His word. At first an insuperable objection to the acceptance of Him as Messiah, it had become for

Paul the Divine solution of his problem, his deliverance from condemnation and from moral impotence. It contained a deeper revelation of God's nature and His love than the loftiest teaching of Jesus could convey. Here was the climax of God's slow self-disclosure, manifested not in words however sweet, tender, and uplifting, but in a mighty act, which filled that teaching with wholly new depth and intensity of meaning. And if it is true that the greatest contribution which Jesus made to religion was just the personality of Jesus Himself and His supreme act of sacrifice, then Paul was right in placing the emphasis where he did, even though one might wish he had drawn more fully on the words of Jesus when writing his epistles. Those epistles, however, were written to Christian communities, the majority of them founded by Paul himself, and in any case in possession of a background of information as to Jesus. But the situation of Paul had a peculiarity which must never be overlooked in considering this question. However content he may have been with his own experience, however deeply convinced of its evidential value, he could not forget that it was incommunicable, and that his own bare word was insufficient to substantiate the truth of his message. Through much of his career he was on his defence against those who stigmatized him as no genuine exponent of the Gospel. The other apostles looked coldly on his presentation of Christianity. He had to fight the battle of Christian freedom not only against them but even against his own trusted comrade, Barnabas. His enemies followed him from church to church, to poison the minds of his converts against him. Is it conceivable that, placed in this situation, Paul could have been indifferent to the life and teaching of the Founder? Even if he had not needed the knowledge for his own satisfaction, it was a strategic necessity to him. How could he have afforded to insist on his right to be a genuine apostle of Jesus, a true herald of His Gospel, if all the time he was presenting his opponents in the Judaizing controversy with the opening given to them by such ignorance and indifference? Often contrasted unfavourably with the other apostles, he could not have failed to diminish by diligent inquiry their advantage over him as companions and pupils of Jesus. We must infer therefore that he had an adequate knowledge of the historical facts and the Founder's teaching, whatever view we take as to the evidence of such knowledge afforded by the epistles.

Something he must have owed to the apostles, notably to Peter. Much of his knowledge of the facts of Christ's life, His Passion and His Resurrection would be derived from this source. He shared with them the belief in certain fundamental facts, but their agreement went beyond this point. There was an element of theological interpretation common to them. Paul explicitly mentions, not only the fact that Christ died, but the vital interpretation, which turned the fact into a Gospel, that Christ died for our sins. From them he derived the institutions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper and the expectation of Christ's speedy return. Yet Paul emphatically asserts that he did not receive his Gospel from man but that it came to him by revelation. His distinctive presentation of Christianity was accordingly original, not borrowed; and the fullest recognition of that fact is not incompatible with the admission that there was not a little in his thought which he owed to others. That which he received from others by no means accounted for Paulinism. It is not so difficult to accumulate parallels to this detail and that; what is not possible is to discover a parallel to the system as a whole. Views which Paul did not originate he treated in an original way, stamped them with his own genius, and fused them into harmony with his general point of view. He was a speculative thinker of no mean order, not the second-rate eclectic whom some would make him out to be.

Paul's original contribution to Christian theology grew directly out of his own experience. This will be most clearly seen if, so far as we can, we trace the development of that experience. He had been trained as a Pharisee in the most rigorous type of Judaism. He had sought for righteousness, for a right standing before God, with a burning passion and unflagging energy. The standard of righteousness had been laid down in the Law, and he sought to fashion his life in strict and punctilious conformity with it. He achieved such success that he could claim to have outstripped all his contemporaries in the pursuit of righteousness, and could describe himself as blameless with reference to the Law. Yet his efforts, so strenuous and outwardly so successful, left him with a sense of desires unsatisfied and a goal always unreached. In the classic fragment of autobiography that he has given us in Romans VII., he has sketched with inimitable insight and in graphic and telling language, his spiritual

career while he was under the Law. It was the flesh that made him weak, sin had seized it and used it as a base of operations, had conquered and brought him into captivity. It had not always been so with him. He looked wistfully back to the time when he was alive in happy childish innocence, wholly unconscious of sin. From this he was roused by the coming of the Law into his life. Conscious now of the holy Law of God, he realized his own disharmony with it. Moreover he felt that the Law's prohibitions were turned by sin into suggestions of transgression. Such then was his bitter experience. He had lost his innocence, his happy unconsciousness of a moral order had given place to a sense of disunion with it; he felt himself sold in helpless and hopeless captivity to sin, and the fact that the Law forbade a certain course of action became, in this perversion of his moral nature, the very reason why he should follow it. But all this implied that a higher element was present within him; otherwise he could never have felt the wretchedness of his condition or been sensible of the tragic schism in his soul. Looking more deeply into himself, he realized that within his own personality competing powers struggled for supremacy. On the one side there was his lower nature to which he gives the name "the flesh," wherein sin had lain in a sleep like that of death till the Law had come and provoked it into revolt. While the mind consented to the Law of God that it was good, it was overmatched by the flesh which constantly insisted on his disobedience to it. The utmost strain of effort never altered the inward conditions; the sense of defeat remained. Now, as a pious Jew, this state of things must have seemed inexplicable to him. With a conscientiousness so acute, a nature so strenuous, and an ethical standard pitched so high, a moral tragedy was inevitable. The fault could not rest with the Law of God which could set forth no unattainable ideal, and therefore it must lie in himself. And yet how could he be at fault, since in his zeal for righteousness nothing had been left undone? This experience became clear to him later and supplied him with a large section of his theology, but at this time it could only have been an insoluble puzzle.

Then he came into contact with the Christians, and was stirred to the depths by their proclamation of a crucified Messiah. Their preaching would fill him with abhorrence, for the curse of the Law rested on him who was hanged on a tree. It was not simply that the

religious leaders of the nation had decided against Jesus ; the decisive verdict had been given by God. It was conceivable, however improbable, that God's Messiah should have been executed ; it was unthinkable that he should have been executed by such a death. The doctrine of a crucified Messiah was a blasphemous paradox. But if he pressed the Christians with the dilemma their position seemed to involve, they must have escaped it by their confident assertion that God Himself had intervened in the resurrection of the Crucified to vindicate His character and establish the truth of His claim. But they would not leave the death itself without attempt at explanation. It was not for them simply an ugly and unwelcome incident, an inexplicable mystery, its burden lifted, but its obscurity unremoved, by the Resurrection. It was not an irrational accident violating the moral order ; it was a deed that testified to the sin and ignorance of man, but also a part of God's plan for human redemption. But they did not realize, as Paul did, how fundamental were the problems which their position involved, and to what radical solution they must be carried if they maintained their belief in Jesus. Hate sharpened Paul's insight into the instability of their position, and it was his interest as a controversialist to push the logical conclusions from it to an extreme. With the swift intuition of genius he realized that to accept the Cross was to bid farewell to the Law. His ruthlessness as a persecutor is not to be palliated by the plea that he had failed to understand the Gospel. We may excuse it on the ground that he understood it so well. To a certain extent we may even say that one side of Paulinism was a theoretical construction formed by Paul in the period before he became a Christian. For if Jesus was indeed the Messiah, how did it stand with the Law ? In condemning the Messiah, the Law condemned itself. But not on this ground alone would the acceptance of Christianity carry with it a renunciation of the Law. So tremendous a fact as the Messiah's death, and a death in this form, must have an adequate explanation. Such an explanation was actually given in the theory that the death of Jesus was to atone for sin and establish a new righteousness. It was obvious that a new righteousness through Christ would supplant the righteousness of the Law, and thus the privilege of the Jew disappeared and he sank to the level of the Gentiles.

Now, however strongly Paul pressed the Christians with the logic of their position, he could hardly help feeling as the controversy went

on that his own position was not impregnable. He could not help being impressed by the constancy of the Christians under persecution, and the serenity with which they met their fate. Nor could he deny the possibility that their case might be true, however he despised and disbelieved it. As a Pharisee he could not reject the possibility of the Resurrection, nor evade the inference that it would neutralize the curse of the Law. The assertion that the Messiah had died to atone for sin was not intrinsically incredible, and it met very well the need of which he was himself conscious. To deny the fact of the Resurrection in face of the unwavering testimony of the Christian must have become always more difficult. Even while rejecting their belief as blasphemous, there was probably an undercurrent of uneasy questioning whether they might not be right after all. And this was strengthened by his consciousness of dissatisfaction with his own life under the Law, his realization that the Law had not brought him happiness, or assured him of his standing with God. Subconsciously at least it would seem probable that the issue had narrowed itself to this, Had Jesus risen from the dead or not? We may then sum up his position just before his conversion in this way: he passionately held fast the Law as God's appointed way of righteousness, but was conscious of inability on his own part to attain his ideal. For himself personally righteousness had not come through the Law. On the other hand he held Jesus to be a blasphemous pretender to Messiahship, cursed by the Law and therefore by God, but with misgivings whether after all He might not be the true Messiah; in which case His death was intended as an atonement for sin and to create that righteousness before God, which in Paul's own experience at least the Law had been unable to do. In which case again the Law was abolished, and Jew and Gentile were placed on the same level before God.

There came to Paul in this state of mind the overwhelming experience on the road to Damascus. The Nazarene, whom his countrymen had sent to the Cross and whose followers he had persecuted to the death, appeared to him in a blinding blaze of heavenly glory. In that experience the Pauline theology came to birth. The full and radiant conviction now and for ever possessed him, that the crucified Jesus had risen from the dead and now reigned in glory, and was therefore the Messiah whom He had proclaimed Himself to be. The inference

he had previously drawn in order to fortify himself in his rejection of Christianity and persecution of the Christians still held good. When he accepted Christianity, he accepted the conclusions which he had previously regarded as inevitable. Once for all he abandoned the belief that righteousness could come through the Law. He acquiesced in the abolition of the Law, which had pronounced its curse upon his Master, and he freely admitted the universality of salvation and the abolition of all distinction between Gentile and Jew. But theoretical inferences, drawn from the standpoint of Judaism, were wholly inadequate to express the fulness of blessing which had come to him in his conversion. The splendour of illumination which had flooded his soul was miraculous to him, matching the marvel of the light which burst on the primæval chaos, when God began to deliver the earth from darkness and disorder. It had brought to him the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ. A description of his experience even more pregnant and suggestive is given in the Epistle to the Galatians : "When it pleased God, who before my birth set me apart for His service and called me through His grace, to reveal His Son in me". It would be vain to attempt a psychological analysis of the inmost fact in Paul's experience, and inquire in what way this revelation was imparted. But the words are full of significance. The passage carries us a long way into the heart of the Pauline theology. It was God who had taken the initiative in this great act of revelation. Thus the Gospel was not a wholly new thing. It did not make an absolute breach with the past but stood in continuity with it ; it was the God of the Old Covenant who was also the God of the New. Thus Paul secured the inclusion of the Old Testament revelation in Christianity. His disciple Marcion at a later period rejected the God of the Jews and the Hebrew Scriptures, and regarded Christianity as a sudden irruption of the new order into the old without any preparation in history. For Paul the new religion proclaims the ancient God. And this God reveals His Son. Jesus is thus not merely a national Messiah. The Messianic category, true so far as it goes, is inadequate. Paul claims for Him a loftier title. Thus, while his monotheism remained, it was not a bare monotheism, but a monotheism which, while maintaining the unity of the Godhead, found room for distinctions within it. And this revelation was made within him. It is an inward revelation that the phrase is intended to express ; and we can hardly be wrong

in finding here his deepest experience in conversion, the vital and mystical union of his spirit with Christ Himself. But out of this certain consequences inevitably flow. If he was one with Christ then Christ's experiences had become his own, and Christ's resources were in a sense placed at his disposal. Thus he was free from the Law, and in Christ he stood righteous before God. And with the Law he had died in Christ to the flesh ; and therefore to sin which, apart from the flesh, had no foothold in man. We may then summarize the positions held by Paul at his conversion or given in it as follows : Monotheism, qualified by the recognition of distinctions within the Godhead ; the choice of Israel and revelation to it, qualified by the inability of the Law to produce righteousness ; the reign of sin in the individual by means of the flesh, against which the struggles of the mind were quite ineffectual ; the recognition of righteousness as a free gift of God apart from the merit or effort of the recipient ; the union of the human spirit with Christ, the crucified and risen Lord ; and through this union the forgiveness of sins, victory over sin, and power for a new life.

From this sketch of Paul's spiritual history we must now pass on to a more systematic and detailed exposition of his fundamental doctrines. We must of course remember that his recognition of a Divine revelation already given to Israel compelled him to adjust to the Old Testament as best he could the theology derived from experience. His experience before conversion, interpreted in the light of the Gospel, shaped his doctrines of sin, the flesh, and the Law. Of the flesh I have spoken already when considering the alleged derivation of Paul's conception from the Old Testament and Greek philosophy. On it therefore I need add only a few words. In his experience the flesh had been the seat and the instrument of sin. Apart from the flesh there could be no sin in man. Flesh without sin was also unknown. Now the flesh, unlike the body, is not a morally indifferent thing, which may become the slave of sin or the temple of the Holy Ghost. It is completely antagonistic to God and righteousness. In it there dwells no good thing ; it has a will and intent which leads to death ; it lusts against the spirit ; cannot be subject to God's law. Its works are altogether evil, and exclude those who practise them from the kingdom of God. Those whose life is lived in accordance with it are inevitably on the way to death ; and those who sow to it will of

it reap corruption. Those who are in the flesh cannot please God. This dark and lurid picture shows us clearly how irretrievably evil a thing Paul considered the flesh to be.

But reflection on his own experience had taught him to find in the Law the stimulus which wakened this hateful impulse to its malign activity. In this he detected one of the darkest shades in the character of sin. Nothing brought out its true heinousness more clearly than this that it perverted into an instrument of its baneful energy God's holy law itself. Thus the Law could not secure obedience because it was weak through the flesh, while it proved in experience to be the strength of sin. So there emerges one of the most paradoxical features in the Pauline theology. It would have seemed as though there could be but one answer to the question, Why had the Law been given to Israel? For what purpose could it have been given, save to teach man the way of righteousness, and guide and stimulate him as he sought to tread it? But though such was its obvious design, Paul felt that in his own career it had failed to achieve it. It would not have been so strange had he simply said that the Law was given to convince man of his own sinfulness by setting before him a moral ideal of which he fell lamentably short. But he goes further than this and teaches that it was given for the sake of transgression, and came in besides that the trespass might abound. We must, it is true, maintain the distinction between sin and trespass, and not understand him to mean that the Law was given in order that sin might be increased. It was in order that the sin already latent in man should reveal itself in its true colours through abundant manifestation in acts of transgression. Such he had found it to be. He says, "I was alive apart from the Law once: but when the commandment came, sin sprang to life and I died". In his innocent childhood, when he was just a creature of impulse and knew the restraint of no moral law, he lived his happy untroubled life, conscious of no schism within his own breast. But when he came to years of moral discernment, and realized that he was placed in a moral order, the flesh chafed at its pressure, and the sin which had been slumbering in it woke to life and disclosed its native antagonism to God. Thus the Law, holy, just, and good, so framed that obedience to it would have brought life and righteousness, had issued in condemnation and death. It had brought the consciousness of sin, it had become its strength and stronghold. Thus

Paul is led to the paradoxical doctrine that the Law had not been intended to produce righteousness, but to produce the effects, which it had in fact achieved. God had meant it to give sin its opportunity, to prove an incentive to transgression. It is not strange that Jewish writers, for whom the Law is not an intolerable yoke and brings not a curse but a blessing, should criticize Paul's doctrine as utterly contrary to the facts. Indeed we can hardly wonder that some should doubt whether anyone capable of formulating it could ever have known Judaism from the inside. Yet it is not difficult to see how Paul was driven to take up this position. It is one of those cases where the necessity of adjustment to the Old Testament has shaped the doctrine which yet it did not create. There is nothing to show that he ever contemplated the solution adopted by Marcion that Judaism with its Law and Old Testament Canon should be frankly abandoned. We cannot doubt that he would have utterly repudiated it. But, realizing that Christianity stood in continuity with Judaism, and that for it too the Old Testament was sacred Scripture, and that the Law had actually been given by God, though through angelic intermediaries, he had the difficult task of combining his conviction of its Divine origin with the fact that it had proved to be the strength of sin. He solved his difficulty by the bold contention that the Law had never been intended to bring righteousness, for God could not have adopted a means so ill designed to serve His end. Now it may be urged that this is just a piece of desperate apologetic, to which Paul would never have been driven but for a certain morbid strain in his own piety. With a conscience more robust, less scrupulous and sensitive, he might have had a happier life under the Law, more free from incessant strain and sense of failure. And no doubt it is true that Paul's case was quite exceptional. Yet the following considerations must be borne in mind. Paul as we know him in his epistles is remarkably sane and balanced in his handling of ethical questions. It is not easy to believe that the man who holds the scales so evenly between the strong and the weak, who shows himself so conscious of the merits and perils of both, should himself have been the victim of a too scrupulous, not to say diseased, conscience. Further it may be freely granted that in multitudes of instances legalism worked well. Judaism could point, and can point, to a noble roll of saints and martyrs. Yet legalism is not, I believe, the highest type of religious experience ;

and the defects which Paul believed it had shown in his own case are such as might have been theoretically deduced. A legal religion may with shallower natures produce self-satisfaction on too low a level of attainment, while in the more strenuous and sensitive it may create a depressing sense of failure. With Paul this depression passed into despair. Are we unjust to others if we say that this was rooted in a wholly exceptional realization of the lofty standard which the Law challenged him to reach, and a keener sense of his own shortcomings? Surely remembering that Paul is one of the greatest personalities in history, a religious genius who ranks among the foremost of his order, we may hesitate before we dismiss his judgment on the Law with the cheap explanation that Paul was the victim of ethical nightmare.

His doctrine of salvation and the new life is similarly an interpretation of his own experience. I have already expressed the opinion that when Paul uses the words "it pleased God to reveal His Son in me" he was speaking of that mystical union with Christ, which was fundamental in his doctrine as it was central in his experience. This is not merely a moral union, that is a union of will and thought. Such a union of course is involved; he wills the things which Christ wills and judges as He judges. But the union of which Paul speaks is deeper and more intimate; it is a blending of personalities in which, while in a sense the personalities remain distinct, in another sense they are one. To express a merely moral union he must have chosen other language. The language he actually uses would be too extravagant. Christ is in the believer, the believer in Christ. He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Paul even says, "I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me". He has transcended the narrow limits of his personality, and become one with a personality vaster and more universal. He has been lifted into a larger life, and in that life he has found an answer to the problems which had been insoluble. As one with Christ he makes his own the experience through which Christ has passed. He suffers with Christ, he is nailed to His Cross, he dies and rises with Him, he sits with Him in the heavenly places. He shares Christ's status before God, His character, and His destiny. In Christ he is a new creature; the old life with its claims and its sin, its guilt and its condemnation, has passed away and all is new. The secret of this mystical union is hidden from us in the thick darkness where God

dwells. It is an ultimate fact of experience which admits of no further analysis.

In his life under the Law he had a passion for righteousness, that is for a right standing before God. But he was conscious that he fell short of what God required, and was not justified as he stood at God's bar. But having passed from the old life to the new he realized that because he was one with Christ, Christ's righteousness was his. He was justified or acquitted or pronounced righteous in Christ ; or to put the thought in its negative form, there was no condemnation for him. The verdict God utters on Christ, He utters on those who are identified with Him. This doctrine of justification is of course important, but it is secondary rather than primary ; it is part of his larger doctrine of mystical union. And when we understand this we have the answer to the criticism that the doctrine involves a fiction and is therefore immoral. To pronounce the sinner righteous is apparently a fiction. But this does no justice to Paul's meaning. The act of trust creates the mystical union and it is the new man, who is one with Christ, on whom the verdict of justification is pronounced. Union with Christ creates the new character which requires the new status. Paul was conscious that the life in harmony with God's will, which he had sought to gain by the works of the Law, had become his possession without effort of his own. And he shares also in Christ's blessed immortality. To these points I must return in connexion with the larger aspects of the theology.

These larger aspects we may consider as Paul's philosophy of history. This also is intimately associated with his experience. He starts from the individual, from himself, and regards his own history as typical. As he had sinned and found salvation, so had others. But he was not content till, with the philosopher's instinct, he had pressed behind the multifariousness of phenomena to a principle of unity. The individual he generalizes into a racial experience. He explains sin and redemption through the acts of Adam and Christ. The moulds into which his thought is poured were given him by history, yet his doctrine is essentially a philosopher's generalization of experience.

I do not accept the view that Paul attached little importance to his doctrine of Adam, since he introduces it incidentally and as an illustration of the act of Christ. It was rather of fundamental

importance. To do it justice we must detach ourselves completely from modern interpretations. We must not read Romans in the light of the story of Eden, nor yet the story of Eden in the light of Romans. The ideas are quite different in the two passages. Nor must we suppose that the validity of the Pauline doctrine depends on the historicity of the story in Genesis. Unquestionably Paul took that story to be literal history, nothing else could be reasonably expected from him. What I find remarkable, however, is that substantially his doctrine is so constructed as to be unaffected by our answer to the question whether the narrative of the Fall is history or myth. So far as Adam has any significance for Paul it is not Adam as a mere individual, but as one who is in a sense the race. It is surely improbable that Paul could have been content to regard the whole of humanity as committed by the accidental act of one unit in its many millions. To assign such momentous significance to the arbitrary and the capricious, would be to take the control of history out of the hands of reason. For him Adam is typical of the race. He does not think of man's moral nature as damaged by the act of Adam, nor does he suppose that the moral status of humanity is fixed by what was nothing more than the act of an irresponsible individual. What alone could rightly make the act of Adam the act of the race, stamping humanity as good or evil, would be an identity of Adam with the race, so that in his acts the whole quality of humanity is manifest. The act of Adam is crucial just because it is typical ; the nature of Adam is our common nature ; he is the natural man, moulded from the dust. The sin latent in us was latent also in him, and at the touch of the Law it was roused to life and activity. Only because Adam was truly representative, could the individual act be charged with universal significance. His act involved God's judgment of the race as sinful, and brought on all men the penalty of death. Such is the tragic history of the natural man left to himself. But it was not from the Old Testament in the first instance that Paul learnt this doctrine, as will be clear to anyone, if he does not read the third of Genesis through Pauline spectacles. Closer parallels may, it is true, be found in Jewish theology. But it was his own experience that was his starting-point. We should read the discussion of Adam and Christ in the light of the autobiographical fragment in the seventh of Romans. As he pondered on the conflict within his own nature, the

struggle between the flesh and the mind, the victory of sin, the impotence of the Law for righteousness, its capture by sin for its own evil ends, he sought the explanation at the fountain head of history. In his own heart he found the key to the long tragedy of man's sin and guilt. As he was so was mankind. His own breast was a tiny stage on which the vast elemental conflict of good and evil was re-enacted. So had it been with the first man, so from the very outset of the race's history at the touch of the Law the sin that slumbered in the flesh had sprung to consciousness and revolt. And all the generations, as they came and went, had but vindicated by their universal transgression God's treatment of that first disobedience as a racial act.

But before the second racial personality could come, and by his act reverse the verdict on humanity and release new streams of energy to cleanse and redeem it and lift it from the natural to the spiritual plane, a long interval had to elapse. Another pair of contrasted figures, Abraham and Moses, play a subordinate part in the drama. With the former is associated the promise of the Seed and the election of Israel, with the latter the Law. Against those who claimed that the Law was permanent and not abolished by the Gospel, that both it and circumcision were essential to justification, Paul urges the case of Abraham. Long before the Law was given, the promise of God had been made to Abraham, a promise of the Seed in whom all nations should be blest, a promise fulfilled in the Gospel. But the very principles of the Gospel were already in operation, for Abraham was justified by faith and not by works, and while he was still uncircumcised. And the promise by its very nature offered a contrast to the Law. For Law has within it an element of bargain, the performance of its demand implies a corresponding right to receive a reward. But the promise stands on the higher plane of free grace; it guarantees a gift bestowed by God's bounty apart from any desert in the recipient. The promise then is not only more ancient than the Law and cannot be superseded by it, it belongs also to a loftier moral order. And with the promise there comes the election, the choice of Abraham's descendants. But not of all of them; for the principle of election still works on, choosing Isaac and Jacob, passing by Ishmael and Esau. And in the chosen people itself it still works; not all of Israel after the flesh constitutes the spiritual Israel. The Old Testament more than once speaks of a remnant, and now the Israel of God

is identical with the Christian Church. Yet the natural Israel is not ultimately rejected, for Paul looks forward to the time when it shall accept its Messiah, and form part of the elect people once more.

But why, it may be asked, if already in Abraham the principles of the Gospel found expression, could not the Messiah have come at once, and why was there any need for the Law? It was because a prolonged period of discipline was necessary to educate the chosen people and prepare for the coming of the Messiah. The weakness of human nature had to be revealed by its inability to fulfil the Law, so too, the ineradicable vice of the flesh and the exceeding sinfulness of sin. It was only the Law that could disclose the mutinous character of the flesh, or wake to evil activity the sin that was dormant within it. But while on the one hand the Law disclosed to man his true nature and exhibited sin in its true colours, it also served as moral discipline. It revealed man's duty, though it gave no power to fulfil it. It was a "paidagogos" to bring us to Christ. The paidagogos was charged with the moral supervision of children. By the use of this term Paul suggests the menial and temporary character of the Law. Israel was like a child in its tutelage under harsh and ungenial tutors. But with the coming of Christ the period of bondage is over, the heir achieves his freedom, and passes into that liberty for which Christ has set him free. The Law itself by its very imperfections pointed forward to Christ; it set before man a moral ideal, and since it gave no power to fulfil its own commands and was the weak, unwilling tool of sin, it pointed to a new revelation, in which the moral ideal should be united with the power of fulfilment.

In the fulness of time the promise, so long obstructed by the Law, came to realization. God sent His Son into the world in the likeness of sinful flesh, a member of the human race and of the Hebrew people. He did not begin to be with His human origin; a heavenly life lay behind His life of humiliation and suffering on earth. Image of the invisible God, firstborn of creation, sharing the Divine essence, God's agent in the formation of the universe, He did not clutch greedily at that equality with God, which was nevertheless His right, but emptied Himself and for our sake exchanged His heavenly riches for our earthly poverty. Stooping to our human estate He obediently accepted the Cross which God appointed Him, and has in recompense been highly exalted and received the name above every name.

While the act of Adam had been critical and representative, since it expressed our common nature, the act of Christ was a critical and racial act in virtue of his self-identification with us. As Adam in this crucial act is the race, so also in His crucial act is Christ ; and as the act of one is valid for the race, so also the act of the other. Each of them is the fountain-head of humanity, the one of the natural, the other of the redeemed. Their significance is not merely individual, it is universal. The point of expression is in each case personal ; it is Adam who eats the forbidden fruit, it is Jesus of Nazareth who hangs upon the Cross. But when viewed not from the standpoint of historical incident but of eternal significance, Adam and Christ are co-extensive with humanity.

Yet the question emerges whether we can rightly draw a parallel between the racial function of the first and the second Adam. Obviously they do not seem to stand in the same relation to the body for which they act. There is clearly no such hereditary connexion in the one case as obtains in the other. But it is not on the hereditary connexion that Paul's thought rests, but on the possession of a common nature. Yet is there not a difference here also ? The act of Adam was not in violation of his nature, it sprang spontaneously from it ; and it was a racial act because his nature and that of all other men were identical. There is, it is true, a higher element than the flesh within us, but it makes no successful stand against the lower. In Christ, on the contrary, the higher element is all powerful ; He is the spiritual man of heavenly origin. Here then, it might seem, that the parallel between the two Adams breaks down, since while a natural man might fitly represent the sinful race, a spiritual man could not do so. On this the following suggestions may be offered. In the first place Paul does hint at an essential relation subsisting between the pre-existent Christ and the human race. In the next place the element of spirit is not absent even from sinful humanity, so that what is needed is not so much the introduction of a new element as such a readjustment of the old as shall emancipate the higher nature from the dominion of the lower. And thirdly, if such a readjustment is not only realized in Christ but through Him becomes possible to the race and to individuals, He may be regarded as acting for the race with as much right as Adam. In fact the "much more" which rings so loudly in Paul's great passage on Adam and Christ is perhaps the

key to this difficulty. Christ acts for the race not simply because He shares its nature and its fortunes, but because there dwells within Him a spring of redemptive energy, which makes it possible for the achievements He accomplishes in His own case, to be repeated in the experience of the race and of individuals. We need to hold fast as our guiding clue not simply that Christ reverses all that Adam did, but that He much more than reverses it.

But what was the significance of Christ's racial act? Paul describes it as an act of obedience. As such it reversed Adam's act of disobedience and the consequences that followed from it. These consequences Paul took to be the penalty of physical death and Divine condemnation of the race as guilty. Through the obedience of Christ, physical death is cancelled by the resurrection of the body, and God now passes a new judgment on the race as He sees it in Christ. The act of Christ stood also in a relation to the old order under which men had lived. That order had been under the control of inferior spiritual powers. There was a kingdom of evil with Satan the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air at its head. Still the Christian finds that his "wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual *hosts* of wickedness in the heavenly *places*". Clad in the armour of God he may be able to withstand the wiles of the devil, and equipped with the shield of faith to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one. Behind the whole system of idolatry Paul sees the baneful activity of the demons; to them the heathen sacrifices are offered, and the Christian who feasts in the idol's temple enters into ruinous fellowship with demons. But there were also the angels. It is not easy for us to enter into Paul's thought here. Paul's conception of angels has been borrowed from Jewish theology, and it has little in common with our popular notions of angels. They are the elemental spirits who rule the present world. They are not sinless, they have shared in the effects of Christ's redemption and therefore need to be redeemed. They are to stand before the judgment bar of the saints. Women are in danger from them if they pray or prophesy in the Christian assemblies with uncovered head, and therefore need the protection of the veil, to which a magical power is often assigned. In particular the angels had been concerned with the giving of the Law. This was a tenet of Jewish theology and references are

made to it in the speech of Stephen and in the Epistle to the Hebrews ; while Paul accepts the belief in the Epistle to the Galatians, and it underlies much that is said in the Epistle to the Colossians. The angels, as the world-rulers, brought Christ to His Cross, for they are absorbed in their function and have no significance beyond it. If then there rests on Jesus the condemnation and the curse of the Law, when we pass from the abstract to the concrete, the responsibility rests with those who are the givers and administrators of the Law. And these are not primarily the Jewish or Roman authorities. Just as behind the Empires of Persia and Greece the Book of Daniel shows us their angelic princes, so angelic principalities and powers stand behind their human tools, the priest and the procurator. They act not in malevolence but in ignorance. Had they known the wisdom of God, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. The ignorance of the angels is mentioned also in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Through the Church the variegated wisdom of God is to be divulged to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places. But their action in bringing Christ to His Cross recoiled upon themselves. The Law launched its curse against Christ, but in doing so its curse was exhausted and its tyranny was broken. In His death Christ spoiled the principalities and powers, exhibited them in their true position of inferiority, and led them in triumph in His train. Foolishly then did the false teachers at Colossæ worship these deposed potentates and look to them for help. For the fulness of Godhead is not distributed among a multitude of angels. It exists in its undivided totality in Christ, it dwells in Him as a body, that is as an organic whole.

But while the Law has thus been abolished by being nailed to Christ's cross, sin and the flesh have also been brought to nought. For the crucifixion of the physical flesh carries with it the destruction of the carnal nature. And similarly the death of Christ broke the dominion of sin. For while the sinful flesh was crucified, the sin which dwelt within it was done away. Thus the death of Christ was a death to sin. And just as the physical death, so also the physical resurrection was the efficient symbol of a spiritual fact. The one broke with the past, the other inaugurated the future. The resurrection involved the resurrection to a new life. The negative death to sin is completed by the positive life unto God. And what Christ thus achieved, the race achieved in Him. It atoned for its

sin, broke loose from its power, and was pronounced righteous as it stood before the bar of God.

So far, then, I have spoken of the two great racial acts. I have pointed out already that Paul traces certain consequences to these acts, which automatically affect the whole race apart from any individual choice. But other consequences, and these more momentous, depend on such choice. As a matter of historical fact, all men have by personal choice endorsed the act of Adam and made it their own, and thus vindicated the treatment of it as a racial act. But all do not by a similar act of choice so endorse the racial act of Christ and make it their own. It lies within the option of the individual whether he will remain a natural man, and live in the flesh on the level of Adam, or whether he will take his stand with Christ and become a spiritual man. If he does so, then by an act of faith he becomes one with Christ. Faith is a very rich idea with Paul, it is that act of personal trust and self-surrender, the movement of man's whole soul in confidence towards Christ, which makes him one spirit with Him. And thus the great racial act of Calvary is repeated in the believer's experience. Because he is one with Christ he is dead to sin ; for the flesh in which it lived and through which it worked has been crucified on Christ's cross. He has also in death paid the penalty of his sin, and is thus free from its guilt and its claim. And since he is one spirit with Christ he has risen to the new life of holiness, and there works within him the power of Christ's resurrection life. No condemnation rests upon him before God's bar, he is justified in Christ. Thus not only sin and the flesh but the Law also has passed away. For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty ; and Christians have died to the Law in which they were holden. For they have escaped into the freedom of the Spirit and dwell with Christ at the right hand of God. Christ has taken the place of self as the deepest and inmost element in their personality ; they have been crucified with Christ and it is no longer they that live but Christ that liveth in them. Conduct thus ceases to be the studied and even painful adjustment to an external code of laws. It is the joyful, instinctive, spontaneous expression of the new personality. With the abolition of the Law the great barrier between Jew and Gentile has been broken down and Christianity stands revealed as a universal religion.

At present, it is true, the Christian realizes that his redemption is incomplete. What is ideally concentrated in the ecstatic moment of vision and emancipation, may in actual experience be achieved only through a tedious process. And complete redemption is not possible till the consummation. At present we groan beneath our burden ; and all Nature moans also, looking eagerly for final redemption. At present we have but the earnest of the Spirit, but this is the pledge that all His fulness will be granted to us. For God, who did not spare His beloved Son but freely surrendered Him for our sakes, cannot withhold any good from us. If the status of Christ and His character become ours, we must share also His blessed immortality and His heavenly reign.

The secret of the spell which the theology of Paul has cast on such multitudes is to be found in the illumination which it has brought to their own spiritual history. They have understood their bondage and their deliverance, their misery and their rapture, as they have entered into his despair or watched him as he passed from that strain of inward conflict and sense of failure to harmony of spirit and untroubled peace with God. A theology created by experience speaks with directness and power to those whose pilgrimage has taken them along the same way. The influence of Paul ebbs and flows across long stretches of history. It shrinks and seems as if it would vanish, and then all suddenly it gathers volume and velocity and the arid waste becomes a garden of God.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES IN A SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPT¹ IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. D. P. BUCKLE, M.A.

IN the last issue of this Bulletin (Vol. IV, p. 123), attention was called to the question of Scriptural citations in Coptic homilies as aids to the textual criticism of the Bible. Citations must, of course, be used with caution, especially when they occur in popular discourses, such as the particular source now before us. They were made from memory, and in the case of those taken from the Synoptic Gospels, would probably amalgamate parallel passages and correctly represent none of them (*v.* Kenyon, "Textual Criticism of the New Testament," 2nd ed., p. 245).

The object of the present article is to give a list of quotations and allusions in one fragment, and to note certain features of the passages cited.

Mr. Crum, in his "Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the John Rylands Library," gives lists of citations in his description of other homilies, but in the case of this manuscript he merely says that it contains many quotations from, and references to the Gospels. The list now given may be regarded as a supplement to this general statement. It will also enlarge its area by including references to Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, and the Epistles.

In the third volume of the Oxford edition of "The Sahidic Version of the Gospels," Mr. Horner prints a list of references supplied by Leipoldt and de Zwaan. But the simple enumeration of quotations there printed, though quite excellent in its way, supplies no information about parallel passages or peculiarities in the texts cited. As the use of particular gospels in quotation is a matter of some interest, an effort will be made in this list not only to indicate parallel passages but also to some extent to note the appearance of preference

¹ Coptic, No. 70 (24a).

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for one of the gospels in certain cases. Where no question of language or variant arises reference to the chapter and verse will be given.

The Rylands Coptic MS. No. 70 [24a], is described in the Catalogue as a homily, probably by Shënoute, and a footnote indicates a marked resemblance between one section of it and Shenoute's "Didascalia" in Crum's "Coptic Ostraca," No. 13.

In a review of Leipoldt's "Schenute" ("Texte und Untersuchungen N.F.," Vol. X), contributed by Mr. Crum to the "Journal of Theological Studies" (V, pp. 129-33), it is stated that students of the New Testament will find in Shenoute's endless quotations a highly valuable witness, as yet wholly unexplored, to the text of the most important of the Egyptian versions. Those who have the privilege of access to the John Rylands Library may now follow up this hint, and pursue the investigation in one MS., which contains over sixty references in sixteen pages. In this study they may be encouraged by the words of the late C. R. Gregory, who in his "Textkritik des Neues Testament" (2, p. 769) writes:—

"Dass christliche Wissenschaft in Ägypten geblüht hat, weiss man. Wie viel noch aus koptischen Handschriften zu erlangen sein wird, bleibt noch festzustellen. Horner, Schmidt, von Lemm, Maspero, Ceugney, Bouriant, Amélineau, Rossi sind dabei, was gewonnen werden kann, zu gewinnen."

When these words were published in the year 1902, the Bohairic Gospels were available in Mr. Horner's Oxford edition (1898), which was completed by the issue in 1905 of the rest of the New Testament in that dialect, and duly noted in Gregory's 3rd vol. (1909), p. 1305. The publication of the Sahidic Gospels followed in 1911, but the other books of the New Testament regarded as a whole in this dialect are only accessible in the fragments of Woide and Balestri. The Old Testament has not yet received complete treatment, but several important parts of it have been recently edited from texts in the British Museum, by Sir Herbert Thompson and Dr. Wallis Budge. The John Rylands Library has recently acquired a copy of Schwartz's "Memphitic Gospels" (*Leipzig*, 1846-47), which formerly belonged to the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, who arranged and catalogued the Crawford Coptic MSS. Schwartz's edition includes a collation of the Greek New Testament of Tischendorf of 1841, and that of Lachmann of 1842, as well as of Tischendorf's edition of the

"Codex Ephraemi," published in 1843. This edition marks the beginning of comparative textual criticism which has reached so high a standard of careful description of the peculiarities of manuscripts and complete *apparatus criticus* in the Oxford edition, through the untiring energy of Mr. Horner.

In the notes added to the following list the MS. under notice will be quoted as R 70, whilst the other abbreviations employed will be :—

sa = sahidic.

bo = bohairic.

Budge = "The earliest Coptic Psalter".

Ciasca = "Fragmenta Bibliorum Sacrorum copto-sahidica," Vols. I and II.

Balestri = ib. Vol. III.

om = omits.

H = Oxford edition of Coptic New Testament.

a, b = first and second columns of the MS. respectively.

LIST OF REFERENCES.

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|------------|---|
| 1. P. 1a. | Is. xl. 22a, 23b, 22b, 15, 22c d. | 22. P. 5a. | 1 Cor. ii. 8. |
| 2. „ 1b. | Ps. cxxxv. 15, 17, 18. | 23. — | Luke ii. 34. |
| 3. „ 2a. | Ps. cxxxiv. 10. | 24. „ 5b. | 1 Cor. i. 18. |
| 4. — | Ps. cxxxv. 13, 14. | 25. — | Is. liii. 2, 14, verse 2 repeated, v. No. 17. |
| 5. — | Ps. cv. 39. | 26. „ 6b. | 1 Cor. ii. 8 and Eph. iv. 18, last clause. |
| 6. „ 2b. | Ps. lxxvii. 24, 25, 16. | 27. „ 7a. | Matt. xxvii. 33; Mark xv. 22; Luke xxiii. 33; John xix. 17. |
| 7. — | Ps. cv. 17. | 28. — | Joel ii. 13. |
| 8. — | John i. 3. | 29. „ 7b. | Matt. xxvi. 65, 64; Mark xiv. 63; Luke xxii. 71. |
| 9. „ 3a. | Luke ii. 12. | 30. — | Matt. xxvii. 41, 42; Luke xxiii. 35. |
| 10. — | Matt. ii. 13. | 31. „ 8a. | Matt. xxvii. 35; Mark xv. 24; Luke xxiii. 34. |
| 11. „ 3b. | John viii. 59 (also x. 31). | 32. — | Matt. xxvii. 28; Mark xiv. 65; John xix. 2. |
| 12. — | John vii. 1 (cf. v. 18). | 33. — | Matt. xxvii. 68; Mark xiv. 65; Luke xxii. 64. |
| 13. — | John x. 20. | 34. — | Matt. xxvii. 29. |
| 14. — | Matt. xxvii. 48; John xix. 28, 29. | 35. — | Matt. xxvi. 67. |
| 15. „ 4a. | Matt. xxvii. 39; Mark xv. 29. | 36. „ 8b. | Matt. xxvii. 48; John xix. 2. |
| 16. „ 4a. | John xix. 34, repeated v. No. 42. | | |
| 17. — | Is. liii. 2, repeated v. No. 25. | | |
| 18. „ 4b. | Mark ix. 21. | | |
| 19. — | John xi. 34. | | |
| 20. — | Luke viii. 45. | | |
| 21. — | Matt. viii. 25; Mark iv. 38; Luke viii. 24. | | |

37. P. 8b. Matt. xxvii. 28, 29.	51. P. 12a. John xix. 37.
38. „ 9a. Matt. xxvii. 43, 44 (cf. Ps. xxi. 8; Wisdom ii. 18).	52. — John xix. 28.
39. — Matt. xxvii. 47, 46.	53. „ 12b. Matt. vii. 2; Mark iv. 24; Luke vi. 38.
40. „ 9b. John xix. 32, 33.	54. — 1 Pet. i. 9, 8.
41. — Matt. xxvi. 47.	55. „ 13b. Matt. xxvii. 57; Mark xv. 43; Luke xxiii. 50; John xix. 38.
42. — John xviii. 8.	56. „ 14b. Luke xxiv. 10.
43. „ 10a. Luke xxiii. 2.	57. — Mark xvi. 2-4.
44. — John xix. 34, repeated v. No. 16.	58. — Luke xxiv. 5, 6.
45. — Matt. xxviii. 13, 14.	59. „ 15a. Luke xxiv. 13.
46. „ 10b. John xix. 5.	60. „ 15b. John xiv. 18, 16.
47. „ 11a. John xviii. 5, 6.	61. „ 16a. 1 Thess. v. 17.
48. — Luke xxii. 53.	62. „ 16b. Gen. viii. 20, 21.
49. „ 11b. Matt. xxiii. 34.	63. — Eph. v. 2.
50. — Matt. xxvii. 25 (cf. Acts v. 28).	

NOTES.

1. Is. xl. 22c, *ὡς καμανάν*] not represented in R 70.
Is. xl. 22d, *ὡς σκηνήν*] R 70 like a garment or a covering.
 2. Ps. cxxxv. 15, *ἐκτίναξαντι*] so Vulg. “excussit” and Budge sa. R 70 “drowned”.
 3. Ps. cxxxiv. 10, *ἐπάταξεν*] so Budge sa. R 70 “destroyed”.
 6. Ps. lxxvii. 24, *μάννα φαγεῖν*] so Vulg. “ad manducandum”. R 70 “instead of water”.
 8. John i. 3, *πάντα ἐγένετο*] R 70 the all (singular). *v.l.* in sa. v. H. critical notes.
 9. Luke ii. 12, *ἐσπαργανωμένον καὶ κειμένον*] R 70 omits “and” with bo.
 10. Matt. ii. 13, after “Flee into Egypt” R 70 om. “and be thou there until I bring thee word”.
 12. John vii. 1, *ἐζήτουν*] H sa. “sought after,” R 70 “surrounded,” the same word as in John x. 24 for *ἐκυκλωσαν*.
 14. Matt. xxvii. 48, John xix. 28, I thirst] R 70 with John. Matt. om.
 18. Mark ix. 21, Lo, how long is it since this came unto him] R 70 pr. “lo” with sa. and bo., Gr. om. “Lo” with a question is unusual, but it is found in Acts ii. 7.
 21. Luke viii. 24, *διδάσκαλε, διδάσκαλε*] so R 70 Matt. *κύριε*, Mark *διδάσκαλε* once only.
- 18-21. These four questions with their context should be compared with Rylands 68 [33] where Nos. 18 and 19 occur (*v.* Crum’s “Catalogue”). They are used to illustrate the statement of the preacher that when the Lord

of all condescended in humility He inquired about things like a man who does not know.

26. 1 Cor. ii. 8 and Eph. iv. 18 (last clause). This passage though introduced by the usual formula of quotation, which may be seen with the context in Crum's "Catalogue," does not correspond exactly with any Biblical text. It seems to paraphrase 1 Cor. ii. 8 already cited (*v.* No. 22) and to add "through the blindness of their heart" Eph. iv. 18 confirming the A.V. against the R.V. "hardening". On this interpretation of the word *tōm* see my note on Wisdom ii. 21 in the "Journal of Theological Studies," XVII, 192; Dean Armitage Robinson's "Ephesians" (additional notes on *πῶρσις*), and Lagarde's "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," 101.

29. Matt. xxvi. 65, 64, Mark xiv. 63, Luke xxii. 71, Ye have heard his blasphemy] R 70 inserts "all" with G.N. and the Armenian Version.

32. Matt. xxvii. 28, Mark xv. 24, purple robe] R 70 follows sa. Matt. in transliterating the Greek while sa. Mark has puristically expressed the phrase in Coptic.

33. This passage illustrates the remark about citations quoted from Kenyon. R 70 begins by reproducing Mark "covered his face" while Luke has "covered him," then takes a clause from Matthew, "they struck him," and ends with the question, "Who smote thee," which is omitted from the R.V. of Mark because though supported by some Greek mss. with the Ethiopic and Armenian Versions it is obviously inserted from the parallel passages.

36 and 37. Both enlarged, a highly descriptive passage about the crown of thorns and the crucifixion.

45. Matt. xxviii. 13, 14, H. sa. They gave great (pieces) of brass to the soldiers. R 70 "brass," om. "great". H. bo. "suitable money".

46. John xix. 5, Pilate said, behold your king] R 70 with one bo. ms. P. (Greek "Behold the man"), a confusion with verse 14.

49. Matt. xxiii. 24, reference to the gnat and the camel, in this order. διῶλίζοντες is translated in sa. *thlo* = avolare facere, disperdere.

54. 1 Pet. i. 9, 8 in this order: unfortunately not in Woide or Balestri. verse 8. χαρῇ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῳ] R 70 "joy hidden and glorified". Bo. "unspeakable and glorified".

verse 9. τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν] R 70 om. ὑμῶν which Hort rejects as a very early interpolation.

55. Joseph of Arimathæa. R 70 δίκαιος as in Luke only.

57. Mark xvi. 2-4 is not in any fragment or ms. noted by Horner. Verse 3 is peculiar to Mark, and seems to show that in this case a reference to that Gospel was in the preacher's mind. As the lack of evidence for the Sahidic text of this passage is a matter of remark by critics, the possession of this text by the Rylands Library is specially noteworthy.

62. Gen. viii. 20, 21. Textually this is the most interesting quotation in the homily. The facsimile of this page shows the end of the homily and enables the Coptic student to compare the text of the homilist with the readings of Ciasca and of Wilkins. In the 21st verse R 70 agrees with

Wilkins against Ciasca in the omission of κύριος, and in representing διανοηθείς and καταράσασθαι rather than μετανοηθείς and πατάξαι, the last word having been apparently brought from the second clause of the verse into the first.

This seems to illustrate the view of a second Sahidic related to the Bohairic, and different from the best known Sahidic text.

In conclusion, the ms. is interesting as showing the large use made of scriptural quotations in Coptic homilies, and especially of the gospels with a leaning in this case to the narrative of Luke.

On the question of two Sahidic versions, one independent and one related to the Bohairic, reference should be made to Stern's review of Lagarde's "Aegyptiaca" (Kuhn's "Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie," i. 203) and to Crum's remarks on Erman's "Fragment of Wisdom" (Bodleian Hunt 5) in his notice of Sir Herbert Thompson's edition printed in the "Journal of Theological Studies," XI, 301.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
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BRAETHWAIT (Richard) *Essaies Vpon The Five Senses, Revived by a*
new Supplement ; with a pithy one upon Detraction. Continued VVith
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devotion ; purposely composed for the zealously-disposed. . . . The
second Edition, revised and enlarged by the Author. . . . London.
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Chancery lane, at the signe of the Bible. 1635. 12mo, pp. [20], 312,
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* * There is also an engraved title-page by W. Marshall.

— *Times Cvrtaine Dravvne, Or The Anatomie Of Vanitie. VVith*
Other Choice Poems, Entituled ; Health from Helicon. . . . London,
Printed by Iohn Dawson for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sould at the
South entrance of the Royall-Exchange. 1621. 8vo, ff. [108]. R 41072

NATURE. *Natvres Embassie : Or, The Wilde-Mans Measvres : Danced*
naked by twelue Satyres with sundry others continued in the next Section.
. . . [Sig. F 5 recto, title :] The Second Section Of Divine And Morall
Satyres. . . . [Printer's device.]—[Sig. N 1 recto, caption :] [Ornament.]
His Pastoralls Are Here Continved With Three Other Tales ; hauing
relation to a former part, as yetobscured. . . .—[Sig. P 4 recto, title :]
Omphale, Or, The Inconstant Shepheardesse. . . . [Printer's device.]—
[Sig. Q 7 recto, title :] His Odes : Or, Philomels Teares. . . .
[Printer's device]) [The " Epistle Dedicatorie " is subscribed " Richard
Brathwayt ".] (London), Printed [by R. Field] for Richard Whitaker,
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* * Title within woodcut border

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APOSTLES. Postola sögur. Legendariske fortællinger om apostlernes liv deres kamp for kristendommens ubredelse samt deres martyrdød. Efter gamle haandskrifter udgivne af C. R. Unger. Udgiven som Universitetsprogram for andet semester 1873. *Christiania*, 1874. 8vo, pp. xxx, 936. R 38702

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